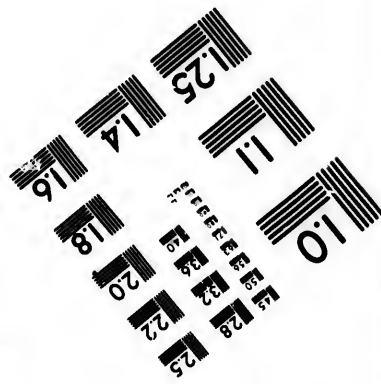
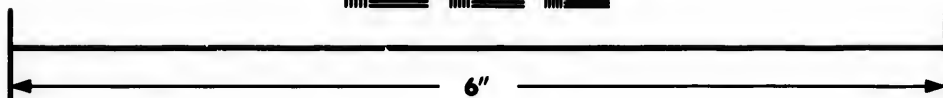
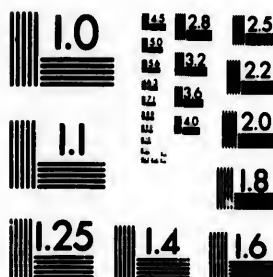


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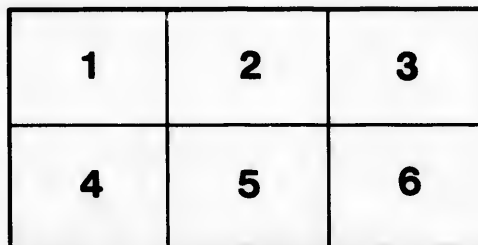
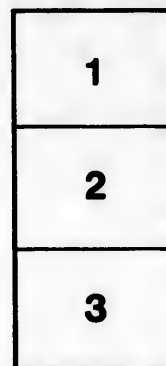
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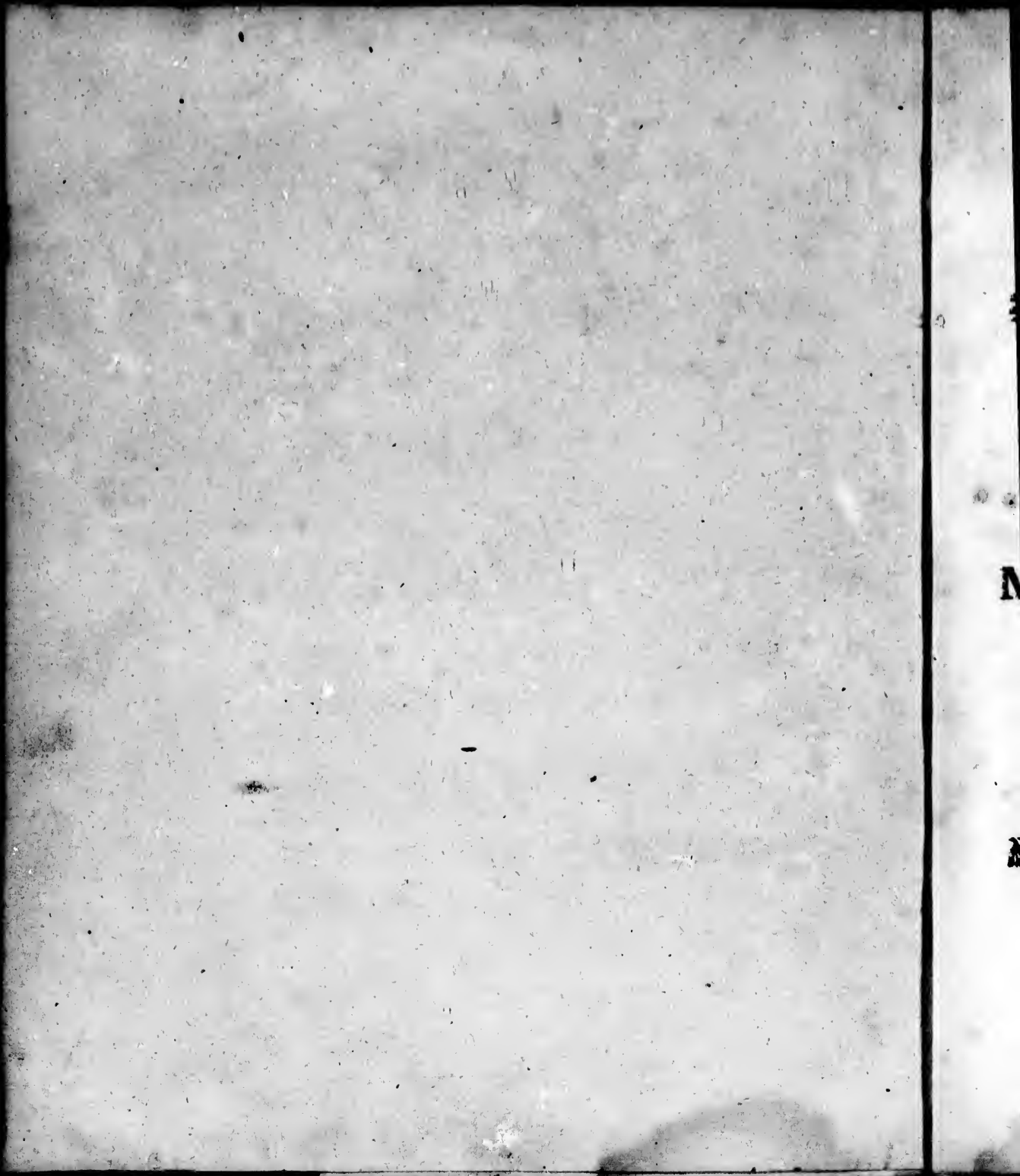
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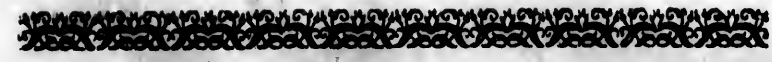
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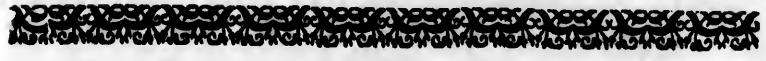


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R E V I E W
OF THE
MILITARY OPERATIONS
IN
NORTH-AMERICA;

FROM

The Commencement of the FRENCH HOSTILITIES
on the Frontiers of Virginia in 1753, to the Surrender
of Oswego, on the 14th of August, 1756.

INTERSPERSED

With various Observations, Characters, and Anecdotes; necessary to
give Light into the Conduct of American Transactions in general;
and more especially into the political Management of Affairs in
NEW YORK.

(By R. Livingston)

In a LETTER to a Nobleman.

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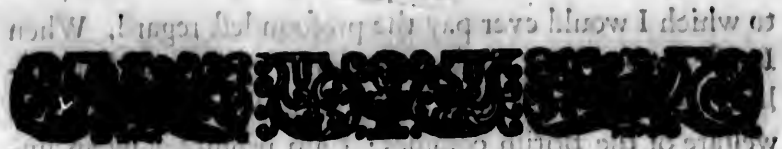
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A
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IN
NORTH AMERICA, &c.

My LORD,

I ESTEEM myself highly honoured, when you request of me, a full account of the rise, progress, and present state, of the military operations in North America; with a just delineation of the characters of the principal agents in our political affairs. Indeed, my Lord, you impose a task that will require a Volume, rather than a Letter. As your Lordship's desire, however, shall always carry with me the force of a command, I will engage in it with the utmost chearfulness. Forgive me, my Lord, for saying I have a still stronger motive for composing these sheets, than a mere compliance with your Lordship's request;

Introduction

x this by a figure called prolepsis is good not being as yet enobled only putting in the Chain to a sketch

A

to

to which I would ever pay the profoundest regard. When I reflect upon your eminent station — your excellling abilities — your warm and active zeal, for the interest and welfare of the British colonies; I am prompted by an unfeigned desire of serving my country; and setting before your Lordship's eyes TRUTH, in her plain undisguised habiliments: I would strip her of all that delusive colouring, with which she hath been artfully varnished, by letter-writers from this part of the world; either to subserve some mean sinister party design, or to promote the views of some aspiring and ambitious minds. Candour and integrity shall therefore guide my pen; and amidst the variety with which it is my purpose to present your Lordship, it shall be my sacred endeavour, to the best of my knowledge, to attach myself to the strictest — the most impartial verity.

American colonies too long neglected, tho' of general importance.

THE American colonies, I speak it with submission, my Lord, were too long neglected by their mother country; tho' loudly demanding her patronage and assistance. Those, on the continent, require her peculiar notice: They may be made an inexhaustible magazine of wealth; and if suffered to fall into the hands of the French, such will be the accession to their already extended commerce and marine strength, that Great Britain must not only lose her former lustre, but, dreadful even in thought! cease to be any longer an independent power. Nay, should every other scheme fail, the success of this will inevitably accomplish the long-projected design

design of that aspiring nation, for setting up an Universal Monarchy: for, if France rule the ocean, her resources will enable her to subject all Europe to her despotic sway. But it is unnecessary to offer any arguments in support of a proposition, of which the Public seems to remain no longer insensible. Happy for us, had these sentiments prevailed earlier, and been more frequently inculcated!

The importance of the colonies, my Lord, was too little considered, till the commencement of the last war. The reduction of Cape Breton by the people of New England, was an acquisition so unexpected and fortunate, that America became, on that remarkable event, a more general topic of conversation. Mr. Shirley, the governor of the Massachusetts Bay, was the principal projector of that glorious enterprize: An enterprize, which reduced to the obedience of his Britannic Majesty, the DUNKIRK of North America. Of such consequence to the French, was the possession of that important key to their American settlements, that its restitution was, in reality, the purchase of the last general Peace in Europe.

More considered, on the reduction of Louisbourg.

Of all our plantation Governors, my Lord, Mr. Shirley is most distinguished for his singular abilities. He was born in England, and bred up to the Law; at one of the Inns of Court. In that profession he afterwards practised, for several years, in the Massachusetts Bay: and, in 1741, was advanced by his Majesty to the supreme

Character of Gov. Shirley.

preme command of that colony. He is a Gentleman of great political sagacity, deep penetration, and indefatigable industry. With respect to the wisdom and equity of his administration, he can boast the universal suffrage of a wise, free, jealous, and moral people. Tho' not bred to arms, he is eminently possessed of these important military virtues — An extent of capacity to form and execute great designs ; --- profound secrecy ; --- love of regularity and discipline ; --- a frugal and laborious manner of living ; with the art of conciliating the affections ; --- a talent which Hannibal admired in Pyrrhus, above all the rest of his martial accomplishments. In the first of these great qualities, Mr. Shirley is universally acknowledged to shine: and it is, in reality, more estimable, than all other military endowments without it ; consisting, to use the words of that discerning historian Mr. Rollin, “ in having great views ; in forming “ plans at a distance ; in proposing a design, from “ which the author never departs ; in concerting all the “ measures necessary for its success ; in knowing how “ to seize the favourable moments of occasion, which “ are rapid in their course, and never return ; to make “ even sudden and unforeseen accidents subservient to a “ plan ; in a word, to be upon the watch against every “ thing, without being perplexed and disconcerted by “ any event.” But, whether it arises from his being so far advanced in years, or from his constitutional disposition and make, he has not, in my opinion, that activity and alertness so conducive to warlike expedition ;
and

and on which the success of an enterprize frequently depends. This was one of the characteristics of Braddock; a commander, vigorous in executing, as Mr. Shirley, judicious in contriving a plan — *sed non omnia possumus omnes* — and 'tis easier, my Lord, to find active hands, than able heads. No man perhaps in the nation, has bestowed more attention, upon the state of the colonies in general: and having their interest sincerely at heart, he has been perpetually concerting expedients, advance of their prosperity, and to check the views of an all-grasping Monarch. Upon the reduction of Louifburgh, he earnestly recommended to his Majesty's ministers, the demolition of that fortress, and an expedition against the French settlements in Canada. The reasons why he succeeded in neither of these proposals, I cannot take upon me to assign. His Majesty, however, sensible of his services, gave him a regiment in 1746; and upon the conclusion of the peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, sent him as one of the British commissaries to Paris, for settling the controverted limits between the two Crowns in America. Amidst all the splendors and delicacies of Versailles, he forgot neither OUR interest, nor HIS duty. As a proof of his integrity and diligence, during that fruitless embassy, one need only peruse these judicious and laborious memorials, in support of His Majesty's right to Nova Scotia, which were principally framed by him; and lately published by order of the Lords of Trade, as a full exhibit of our title to that

His attention
to colony
affairs.

not true

Is rewarded
with a regi-
ment, and
sent com-
missary to
Paris.

wrote by J. G. Town

that part of America. When no satisfaction could, in this way, be obtained from the Court of France; which was artfully endeavouring to spin out the negotiation, and at the same time fortifying the places in question, as well as making new acquisitions; the British commissaries retired from the French Court, and Mr. Shirley resumed his government in New England in August 1753.

1753.

The French encroach on Virginia.

THE French, jealous of the growth of the English colonies, were now meditating all possible arts to distress them, and extend the limits of their own frontier. The marquis Du Quesne, an enterprising genius, was at this time invested with the supreme command of New France. Our provinces were quickly alarmed by the French settlements, which he this year began on the banks of the Ohio. Virginia, appearing more immediately concerned, Mr. Dinwiddie * wrote, on the 31st of October, to the commandant of the French forces there, complaining of sundry late hostilities: and desiring to know, by what authority an armed force had marched from Canada, and invaded a territory indubitably the right of his Britannic Majesty. Major Washington, a gentleman of whom I shall have occasion in the sequel to make honourable mention, was the bearer of this letter. He returned with an answer from Mons. Legardeur De St. Pierre, dated at the fort on Beef River, 15 December, 1753; of which the following is an exact translation: "As I have the honour to command here

Message to the commandant.

It is answered.

* Lieutenant Governor of Virginia.

" in

" in chief, Mr. Washington delivered me the letter, ^{1753.}
 " which you directed to the commandant of the French
 " troops. I should have been pleased if you had given
 " him orders, or if he himself had been disposed, to visit
 " Canada and our general; to whom, rather than to
 " me, it properly appertains to demonstrate the reality
 " of the King my master's rights to lands situated along
 " the Ohio, and to dispute the pretensions of the King
 " of Great Britain in that respect.

" I shall immediately forward your letter to Monf.
 " Le Marquis Du Quesne. His answer will be a law to
 " me: and if he directs me to communicate it to you,
 " I assure you, Sir, I shall neglect nothing that may be
 " necessary to convey it to you with expedition.

" As to the requisition you make (that I retire with
 " the troops under my command) I cannot believe my-
 " self under any obligation to submit to it. I am here,
 " in virtue of my general's orders; and I beg, Sir, you
 " would not doubt a moment of my fixed resolution
 " to conform to them, with all the exactitude and
 " steadiness that might be expected from a better
 " officer.

" I do not know that, in the course of this cam-
 " paign, any thing has passed that can be esteemed an
 " act of hostility, or contrary to the treaties subsisting
 " between the two Crowns; the continuation of which
 " is as interesting and pleasing to us, as it can be to the
 " English. If it had been agreeable to you, Sir, in
 " this

1753. " this respect, to have made a particular detail of the
 " facts which occasion your complaint, I should have
 " had the honour of answering you in the most ex-
 " plicit manner; and I am persuaded you would have
 " had reason to be satisfied:

" I have taken particular care to receive Mr. Wash-
 " ington, with all the distinction suitable to your dig-
 " nity, and to his quality and great merit. I flatter
 " myself that he will do me this justice, and join with
 " me in testifying the profound respect with which I am,

" S I R,

" Your most humble and

" most obedient servant,

" Legardeur De St. Pierre."

1754. ON the receipt of this resolute answer, Mr. Dinwiddie
 made instant complaint to the Court of Great Britain ;
 and by alarming speeches laboured to rouse the Virginians
 into a vigorous opposition. He wrote also to the neigh-
 bouring governors, importuning the aid of the other colo-
 nies, for repelling the invasion, and erecting a fort at the
 confluence of the Ohio and Monangahela. An immediate
 junction in such measures became absolutely requisite for
 our common security. But the colonies, alas ! were sunk
 into a profound lethargy ; and, resigned to stupidity and
 slumbering, appeared insensible of the threatening danger.
 They contemned the power of Canada ; confided in the
 number of their inhabitants ; inattentive were they to
 the inconveniencies of an endless frontier ; and in short

Virginians
 apply for aid
 to the co-
 lonies.

intirely

intirely unacquainted with the situation of the inland ^{1754.} country. The waters of the Ohio, before this period, were scarce known, save to a few Indian traders; and the generality deemed those French settlements too remote to be the object of dread, and a matter of insignificant moment. Accordingly, when application was made for succours to Virginia, conformable to directions from the ministry, some of our provincial assemblies, particularly those of Pennsylvania * and New York **, seemed even to question his Majesty's title to the lands usurped by the French. Others, to avoid their share in the burden, framed the most trifling excuses. New York, however, voted 5000 l. currency in aid of Virginia; which, considering her own situation, and approaching distress, was no ungenerous contribution.

But they generally excused themselves.

THE Virginians nevertheless proceeded in their resolution of marching a body of troops to the protection of their frontiers: and passed an act in February 1754, for

Forces raised under Col. Washington.

* " You would not admit, that the French encroachments and fortifications on the Ohio were within our limits, or his Majesty's dominions, thereby seeking an excuse to avoid doing what was required of you."

Gov. Morris's message to the assembly of Pennsylvania, 22 Nov. 1755.

** " It appears, by other papers your honour has been pleased to communicate to us, that the French have built a fort at a place called the French Creek, at a considerable distance from the river Ohio, which may, but does not by any evidence or information appear to us to be an invasion of any of his Majesty's colonies."

Address of the general assembly to Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, 23 April, 1754.

B

raising

1554. raising 10,000 l. and 300 men. The command was given to Col. Washington, a young gentleman of great bravery and distinguished merit. By his Majesty's direction, two of the regular independent companies of foot at New York, were ordered to the frontier of that dominion. They embarked for Virginia on board the Centaur man of war; which unfortunately did not sail from thence till the middle of June, and carried the money before mentioned to the assistance of that colony.

Who had a
successful
skirmish with
the enemy.

COL. WASHINGTON began his march, at the head of his little army, about the 1st of May. On the 28th he had a skirmish with the enemy, of whom ten were slain, and about twenty made prisoners. But this public-spirited officer soon experienced a reverse of fortune. Waiting for further reinforcements, he was alarmed with an account, that 900 French and 200 Indians were advancing from the Ohio; who accordingly in two days after * came up, and an engagement immediately ensued. Our troops were but a handful compared to the number of the enemy, consisting only of about three hundred effective men. After a vigorous resistance for three hours, in which it was said near two hundred of the French and their Indian allies were slain; Col. Washington, observing the great superiority of the enemy, who now began to hemm him in on all quarters, found him-

But was af-
terwards
subdued by
numbers.

* The third of July.

self under an absolute necessity of submitting to the disagreeable terms that were offered him*.

1754.

* The terms of capitulation granted by Mons. De Villier, captain and commander of the infantry of his Most Christian Majesty, to those English troops actually in *Fort Necessity*, which is built on the land of the king's dominions.

As our intentions have never been to trouble the peace and harmony which reigns between the two princes in amity, but only to revenge the assassination which has been done on one of our officers, bearer of a station, as appears by his writings; as also to hinder any establishment on the lands in the dominions of the king my master; upon these considerations, we are willing to grant protection and favour to all the English that are in the said fort, upon the conditions hereafter mentioned.

ARTICLE I.

We grant the English commander, to retire with all his garrison, and to return peaceably into his own country; and promise to hinder his receiving any insults from us French, and to restrain, as much as shall be in our power, the savages that are with us.

ARTICLE II.

That the English be permitted to march out, and carry every thing with them, except the artillery, which we keep.

ARTICLE III.

That we will allow the English all the honours of war; and that they shall march out with drums beating, and with a swivel gun; — that we are willing to shew that we treat them as friends.

ARTICLE IV.

That as soon as the articles are signed by both parties, they strike the English colours.

ARTICLE V.

That to-morrow, at break of day, a detachment of the French shall make the garrison file off, and take possession of the fort: And as the English have a few horses or oxen, they are free to hide their effects, and come and search for them when they have met their horses: And that they may for this end have guardians, in what manner they please, upon condition that they will give their word of honour, not to work upon any building in this place, or in any part this side the mountains, during a year, to be accounted from this day. And as the English have now in their power an officer, two cadets, and most of the prisoners made in the assassination of Sicur Desamouville, that they promise to send them back to the Fort De Duquesne, situate on the *Fine River*: And for the security of this article, as well as this treaty, Mess. Jacob Van Bracham and Robert Stobo, both captains, shall be put as hostages, till the arrival of the Canadians and French above-mentioned. We oblige ourselves, on our side, to give an escort to return in safety these two officers; a duplicate being made upon or of the post of our blockade. July 3, 1754.

1754.

Conse-
quences of
this defeat.

IN this action we had thirty killed and fifty wounded. The French were observed to be assisted by a considerable number of Indians, who had been long in the English alliance: Not a few of them were known to be Delawares, Shawanese, and of the Six Nations *. On the surrender of our camp, they fell at once to pillaging the baggage and provisions; and not content with this, they afterwards shot some of the horses and cattle, and scalped two of the wounded †.

AGAINST this conduct, Col. Washington remonstrated, but all his arguments made but little impression upon them. The Canadians delight in blood; and in barbarity exceed, if possible, the very savages themselves. Thus the French remained masters of the field; the Indians were riveted in their defection; his Majesty's arms unsuccessful; and our frontiers exposed, through the ill-timed parsimony of the provinces. The enemy, on the other hand, wisely improved the present advantage, and erected forts, to secure to themselves the quiet possession of that fertile country. How evident then was the necessity of uniting the power of the British colonies! The expediency of a plan for that purpose had been before considered. Some measures seemed also absolutely requisite for supporting our Indian interest, and preventing their total declension.

* They are called Mingoes by the southern Indians.

† Among other infractions of the capitulation, the destruction of the doctor's box ought not to be forgotten; by which means our wounded were barbarously distressed.

See Col. Innes's letter of 12 July, 1754.

ACCORD-

ACCORDINGLY, agreeable to his Majesty's orders, the 1754. 14th of June was appointed for a grand congress of commissaries from the several provinces, to be held at Albany, as well to treat with the Six Nations, as to concert a scheme for a general union of the British colonies. Messengers had been dispatched to the Indian castles * to request their attendance; but they did not arrive till the latter end of the month; and the Mohawks, who live but 40 miles distant, came in last. This occasioned various speculations: some imputed it to fear; lest the French, in their absence, should fall upon their countries: Others to art, --- imagining that by exciting our jealousy of their wavering disposition, at so critical a juncture, the more liberal would be the presents made them by the several governments. Not a few thought it an artifice of Mr. Johnson's, who expecting to rise into importance, from the reputation of a mighty influence over the Indians, kept them from a punctual attendance; being very confident of a public request to himself from the commissioners, to go up, and hasten their progress. There was the highest evidence of the like piece of policy at an Indian treaty, during Mr. Clinton's administration. The Indians however at length arrived, tho' fewer in number than was expected, or had been usual on those solemn occasions. Hendrick, a noted

Grand con-
gress held at
Albany.

Indians de-
lay attend-
ance, and the
reasons.

* The Indians call their villages, which are only surrounded with pallisades, castles.

Mohawk

1754. Mohawk sachem *, apologized for the delay of that canton, in a speech to this effect: " There was (said he) an interview last fall, between Col. Johnson and the Six Nations, at Onondaga. Our brethren of the other nations reported, that his speech to us was concerted by the Mohawks: We therefore come last, to prevent any ground for the repetition of such slanders, with regard to the address now to be made us by your honour."

Commissioners, and how ranked.

THE congress having been opened on the 18th of June, were ready to treat with the Six Nations; and on the 29th, after settling disputes between the commissioners concerning rank and precedence, Mr. De Lancey, the Lieutenant Governor of New York, addressed himself in a speech to the Indians. --- On his right hand, were Mess. Murray and Johnson, two of the council of New York; next to them, Mess. Wells, Hutchinson, Chandler, Partridge, and Worthington, commissioners from the Massachusetts Bay: Then the gentlemen from New Hampshire, Mess. Wyburn, Atkinson, Ware, and Sherburn: And last on that side, Mess. Hopkins and Howard, commissioners of Rhode-Island. On his left, were seated Mess. Chambers and Smith, two other of his Majesty's council for New York: Then the Connecticut commissioners, Lieutenant Governor Pitkin, Major Walcot, and Col. Williams: After them Mess. Penn, Peters, Norris,

* A sachem is a warrior, and a man of an established reputation for his wisdom and bravery, among the Indians.

and

and Franklin, from Pennsylvania: and last of all, Col. 1754.
Tasker and Major Barnes, from Maryland.

THE treaty was conducted with great solemnity. The Indians appeared well pleased with the presents from the several governments; which, compared to former donations, amounted to an immense value: But in their answer, recriminated upon us the desertion of our fort * at Saraghtoga the last war; lamented the defenceless condition of our frontier city of Albany; and extolled the better conduct of the French, in fortifying and maintaining their garrisons.

Indians
pleased with
the presents,
but blame
our conduct.

THE Indians being dismissed, the conferences were continued till the 11th of July. The commissioners were, both for abilities and fortune, some of the most considerable men in North America. The speakers however were not many; but of those who spoke, some delivered themselves with singular energy and eloquence. All were inflamed with a patriot-spirit, and the debates were nervous and pathetic. This assembly, my Lord, might very properly be compared to one of the antient Greek conventions, for supporting their expiring liberty against the power of the Persian empire, or that LEWIS of Greece, Philip of Macedon. In the conclusion, a plan was concerted for a general union of the British colonies, and creating a common fund to defray all mi-

Plan of a
union.

* Upon the disbanding of the forces raised for the Canada expedition in 1746, and the assembly's disinclination to garrison it, the fort, by order of Mr. Clinton, was burnt and abandoned.

1754. litary expences; and a representation of their present state drawn up; which were agreed to be laid before the King's ministers. Some of the governments have nevertheless declared themselves averse to this scheme; tho' approved at the time by every member of the congress, except Mr. De Lancey. Unaccountable was the conduct of this gentleman to several of the provincial deputies. But those who were best acquainted with his character and love of sway, ascribed his aversion from the plan, to an apprehension, that should the same take place, the supreme officer, who agreeably to it was to preside in the grand council of deputies from the respective colonies, would most probably be the governor of the Massachusetts Bay: An apprehension, which repressed his own aspiring views; and, it was imagined, stung him with unspeakable chagrin.

Approved
by all, ex-
cept De
Lancey.

His character
and history.

As the Lieutenant Governor will appear, in the course of this letter, to bear a principal part in our public transactions, it will be necessary, before I proceed any farther, to present your Lordship with his picture at full length. Without an intimate knowledge of that gentleman's history and genius, it will be impossible to comprehend his conduct, or trace his actions to their genuine source.

He is the eldest branch of one of the first families in the province. His father, a French refugee, a gentleman of distinguished rank in this city, and who here acquired a large fortune, sent him for his education to the University of Cambridge. He was a youth of prompt parts,
and

and made a considerable progress in learning, especially in the classics. In the year 1729 he was, by Governor Montgomery's recommendation, created one of his Majesty's Council of New York; but never engaged the public attention, till the time of Mr. Cosby. He became then very famous. With this governor he took part in most or all of his measures --- measures extremely arbitrary, and productive of an administration odious and turbulent. Cosby, in return for his ministerial services, loaded him with favours. Deposing Chief Justice Morris (the main obstacle to his perilous projects) he raised him to the first seat on the bench*. But tho' his excellency had the disposition of offices, he could by no means delegate the affections of the people. Accordingly, our politician was equally honoured and despised. He enjoyed the smiles of the governor, which loaded him with the curses of the people; was caressed by the former, and by the latter abhorred. Cosby leaving a successor capable of governing without a prompter, the chief justice found it necessary to deface the memory of his former conduct, by cultivating the arts of popularity. Mr. Clarke, who succeeded †, being perfectly master of our constitution, a gentleman of experience and penetration, and intimately acquainted with the temper of the people, in a short time reconciled all parties; and by re-

1754.

* Mr. De Lancey was not educated to the law; but having spent some time, after his return from England, in the study of that science, Gov. Montgomery appointed him second judge of the supreme Court of Judicature.

† In March 1736,

1754. storing the public tranquillity, rendered Mr. De Lancey's plodding abilities utterly useless. Hence he was at full leisure to court the populace. Suddenly he became transformed into a patriot; and, strange to relate! without a single act of patriotism. His uncommon vivacity, with the semblance of affability and ease; his adroitness at a jest, with a shew of condescension to his inferiors, wonderfully facilitated his progress. These plausible arts, together with his influence as Chief Justice, and a vast personal estate at use, all conspired to secure his popular triumph. To establish such an undue power, and amazing influence, would, in a Grecian commonwealth, have exposed a man of less ambition and better principles to the ostracism. Mr. Clarke being superseded by Governor Clinton *, Mr. De Lancy was presented with a fresh opportunity for the exhibition of his political genius. Mr. Clinton, a gentleman of but indifferent parts, wholly resigned himself into his hands. Contenting himself with the title and salary of Governor, he left the sole direction of affairs to his minister, who, by virtue of his late late acquired omnipotence with the assembly, carried all his points, and even endeared him to the people. This intimacy subsisted no longer than it was found conducive to his designs. Having obtained from Mr. Clinton a new commission for his office of Chief Justice *during good behaviour*; and flattering himself with the hopes of another, appointing him Lieut. Governor, through the

* Mr. Clinton arrived as Governor, 22 Sept. 1743.

interest of his friends in England, he cared not how soon ^{1734.} his excellency abdicated the province, nor how tempestuous he rendered his administration; and was therefore prepared for an open rupture. He no sooner thought himself capable of acting independently of the governor, than, like Sixtus Quintus, who threw aside his crutches the moment of his exaltation to the popedom, he put off all that humble devotion, by which he had so fatally deceived his too credulous master, and openly set himself at defiance against him. Now he began to dictate, rather than advise: and instead of Sejanus, chose to be Tiberius himself. Dining one day with Mr. Clinton, and insisting upon some favourite point with great imperiousness, the Governor, who had hitherto very cordially suffered himself to be led, refused on this occasion to be driven. The Chief Justice then arose and left him; declaring, with an oath, he would make his administration uneasy for the future: His Excellency replied, he might do his worst. Thus they parted; nor were ever afterwards reconciled. This breach gave rise to the contentions, which so unhappily imbroiled our provincial affairs, during the remainder of his administration. The assembly were instantly inflamed. He who before had been able to make them connive at very unjustifiable steps, could at once stir up an opposition to the most unexceptionable measures. Remonstrances, warm and virulent, were now drawn up; unworthy their own dignity to offer, and replete with the grossest language to

1754. his Majesty's representative. Thus was formed against Mr. Clinton a powerful party, which ceased not, while he continued at the helm, to harrass and perplex him. To such an exorbitant length did they carry their opposition, as to throw off the restraint of humanity: They had even recourse to force and violence. Nay, a partizan of the Chief Justice, in defiance of the sacred rights of the magistracy and the law --- to shew his resentment against Mr. Clinton and his adherents --- assaulted the mayor; whipped the sheriff; damned the Governor; and stabbed his physician. My Lord, we became the sport and contempt of our neighbours; and it is beyond contradiction, that Mr. De Lancey, by blowing up the coals of contention, did the province more injury, than he will ever be able to repair. Nor is there any reason to doubt, that the enormous power of this gentleman, and the ferment raised against Mr. Clinton, occasioned the 39th article of the king's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn; which appears purposely calculated to render our future Governors independent on his influence over the assembly: For a law indefinite, making provision for the salary allowed by the King to his Governors; and competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other necessary officers and ministers of government --- such a law, I say, would effectually render a Governor independent of the assembly, and consequently of any undue influence in it. Nor without such independence, or an abridgement of Mr. De Lancey's power, by reducing him

him to his primitive private station, do I see any probability of the extinction of that party-spirit, which hath so long disturbed the tranquility, and injured the public weal of the colony. Mr. Clinton, being superseded by Sir Danvers Osborn *, a gentleman of a most amiable moral character, retired into the country; from whence he proposed to embark for Great Britain. The Chief Justice, notwithstanding his long declared enmity, and unwearied industry to embarrass his administration, had now --- the humility, shall I call it? --- to dispatch a messenger to him, with design if possible to procure an accommodation --- in order to secure his favour in England, when he could no longer distress him in America. It were difficult to determine, whether this required a higher degree of assurance or servility. But it is no uncommon thing, to behold the same person fastidious and fawning, supercilious and sycophantic. Mr. Clinton, far from an implacable enemy, began to be softened; when his lady (who if born among the Scythians, had been the Thalestris of antiquity) unravelling the secret, frustrated at once all expectations of a composition; and gave the plenipotentiary such a volley of invective against his constituent, as rendered all future overtures intirely hopeless.

On the death of Sir Danvers Osborn †, equally unexpected and deplored, Mr. De Lancey published the com-

1754.

His appointment to the government, and system of politics.

* Sir Danvers Osborn arrived at New York the 7th of October, 1753.

† This happened on the 12th of October, 1753.

mission

1754. mission he had just received, appointing him Lieutenant Governor. He was now to act a part intirely new, and demanding the full exertion of his political dexterity. In the first place, he had to convince the ministry of his utmost efforts to carry the King's instructions in the house of representatives: And in the next, in order to preserve his popularity with the assembly, and not in the most flagrant manner counteract his avowed principles, he was to satisfy them, that in reality he by no means expected their compliance with them. To execute the former part of this plan --- in his speech of the 31st of October, 1753, to the council and general assembly, he says, --- " You will perceive by the 39th article of his Majesty's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, (copies of which I shall herewith deliver you *) how highly his Majesty is displeas'd at the neglect of, and contempt shewn to, his royal commission and instructions, by your passing laws of so extraordinary a nature, and by such your unwarrantable proceedings, particularly set forth in this instruction: Hence also his Majesty's royal pleasure as to these matters will appear, and what he expects from you. On this head, I must observe to you, that by our excellent constitution the executive power is lodged in the crown: That all govern-

His speech to
the council
and assembly.

* The 39th instruction was published in one of our news-papers; and reprinted in England. The publication of it was thought to have been intended to excite the popular clamour; and it occasioned the resentment of the ministry. It is worth remarking, that copies of several other instructions were expressly ordered by his Majesty to be laid before the assembly; but no such directions were given with respect to this.

" ment is founded on a confidence, that every person ¹⁷⁵⁴⁻
 " will discharge the duty of his station ; and if there
 " should be any abuse of power, that the legal and re-
 " gular course is to make application to his Majesty,
 " who having a paternal tenderness for all his subjects,
 " is always ready to hear and redress their grievances :"
 and then addressing himself to the assembly in particular
 --- " I must earnestly press it upon you, that in pre-
 " paring your bill for the support of government, and
 " other public services, you pay a due regard to his Ma-
 " jesty's pleasure signified in his instructions ; and frame
 " them in such a manner, as when laid before me for
 " my assent, I may give it consistent with my duty to
 " his Majesty." What think you, my Lord ? could your
 favourite Garrick have personated Richard the Third in
 a livelier manner, than this gentleman the *real* advo-
 cate for the royal instruction ? --- Could the man, who
 but a day or two before had intrigued with the mem-
 bers how to elude that very instruction, preserve his gra-
 vity, while acting such a tragi-comical farce ? --- for that,
 my Lord, was the method in which he performed the
 second part of his plan. As his Majesty's representative,
 he was obliged to urge their compliance with seeming sin-
 cerity and warmth --- but as James De Lancey, Esq;
 their old friend and best adviser, it was his real senti-
 ment, that never ought they to submit.

MATTERS being thus previously adjusted, the assem-
 bly in their address studiously avoid a categorical answer
 with

1754.

Assembly's
evasive an-
swer.

with respect to the indefinite support: But to gratify his honour, and blacken the memory of Mr. Clinton, that he might not prejudice him in England, they make use of this memorable evasion --- " On reading the 39th article of his majesty's instructions to Sir Danvers Osborn, your honour's immediate predecessor, we are extremely surpris'd to find, that the public transactions of this colony have been so maliciously misrepresented to our most gracious Sovereign. We can, Sir, with truth and justice affirm, that his Majesty has not in his dominions a people more firmly, and that from principles of real affection, devoted to his person, family, and government, than the inhabitants of this colony. And we are greatly at a loss to discover, in what instances, the peace and tranquility of the colony have been disturbed, or wherein order and government have been subverted. If the course of justice has been obstructed, or in any case perverted, it has been by the direction, or through the means, of Mr. Clinton late Governor of this province, who sent peremptory orders to the judges, clerk, and sheriff of Duches County, to stay process, and stop the proceedings in several cases of private property, depending in that court; and who did, in other counties, commissionate judges and justices of known ill characters, and extreme ignorance: One stood even presented for perjury in the supreme court of this province, whom he rewarded with the office of assistant judge; and others were so shamefully ignorant and illiterate, as to be
" unable

“ unable to write their own names. From whence we ^{1754.}
 “ greatly fear, that justice has in many cases been par-
 “ tially, or very unduly administred.”

I SHALL not trouble your Lordship with a vindication of Mr. Clinton; but only observe --- that the suits commenced in Duches County were by deserters against their captains*; that the governor, who was no lawyer, assured the house, his letters to the justices were written unadvisedly, and with precipitation; and that if any man was injured, he would readily compensate his damages. And as to the charge of appointing ignorant justices, it lies with equal truth against all our governors, (Mr. De Lancey himself not excepted) who, to influence elections, have gone into an unjustifiable practice of intrusting blank commissions with certain favourites in the respective counties, impowered to place and displace civil and military officers at their pleasure. These election jobbers are generally the court members in assembly: And decency, my Lord, should have induced them to stifle the ridiculous assertion, that Mr. Clinton *rewarded* a man for being perjured; as well as the more pertinent invective against the dangerous usage just mentioned, for corrupting the house of representatives. --- But to disgrace Mr. Clinton was expedient to the Lieut. Governor; and hence this attack upon the former.

UPON his honour's advancement to the government, the press laboured with addresses; and the incense offered

Numerous
and fulsome
addresses to
the Lieut.
Governor.

* Captains of the levies raised for the Canada expedition in 1746.

D

upon

1754. upon the occasion, might have perfumed the whole temple of Delphos. It was not enough, that, agreeable to ancient usage, he was presented with the compliments of public bodies alone. It was necessary, from the number of addresses, to display his extensive influence, and the universal joy --- thereby, if possible, to lay the foundation of his continuance in the administration. Accordingly, the very militia officers and supervisors of Queen's County (a motley assemblage!) were made to groan out their aspirations for this auspicious event --- " Oh! --- " that his gracious Majesty would be pleased to confirm " and fix you, for a long time, in this exalted station." Never have I seen an insignificant interjection more insignificantly employed. To so extravagant a pitch, my Lord, did this exuberant ardor arrive, that we at length found him clothed with an incommunicable attribute of the Deity himself --- even his immutable moral rectitude. " These things in you, (say they) are not so properly " called virtues, as NATURAL ENDOWMENTS. You will " not, you CANNOT act otherwise than you do." With *such fustian* can some men be regaled: and by *such fustian* is oftentimes a whole nation deluded.

To proceed in the character of this remarkable American --- He is a person of quick apprehension, and extensive acquaintance with the law; which he acquired with incredible application, to obliterate the indifferent figure he made, when first elevated to the chief seat on the bench, to serve the purposes of Governor Cosby.

Without

Without the talents, he has all the ambition of a Rip- ^{1754.}
perda. His thirst after popularity, which in him is a
mere engine of state, hath almost banished all public
spirit; and the triumphs of power occasioned the exile
of common sense. Apprehensive of the diminution of
his own lustre, his jealousy will not admit a competitor; ^{His jealousy;}
but sets him at mortal odds with a rising independent
spirit, lest it be rewarded with popular favour, and thence
result into popular interest — in derogation of his own
sovereign influence. Hence, whoever would accomplish
a patriot measure, must either obtain his leave; and then
he arrogates to himself the merit due to its author; or
carry it by mere stratagem, without which he may be
sure of a disappointment. In the latter case, he has ge-
nerally address enough to be revenged on the projector,
by rendering both him and his project universally odious.
Some among us see these arts; many suspect them; few
dare mention them; and fewer still oppose them. Thus
a people, who would by no means be forcibly deprived
of their liberties, pass into voluntary bondage: and they
who would scorn a vassalage to the greatest monarch,
become dupes to a dictator of their own creation.

OF all provincial affairs he is the uncontrouled di- ^{and univer-}
rector. As chief justice, great is his interest in the coun- ^{sal influence.}
ties: with that interest he commands elections: with
his sway in elections he rules the assembly: and with his
sovereignty over the house controuls a governor. His in-
fluence with the members of the assembly being the main

1754. source of his exorbitant power, never will he serve the Crown at the risque of a dissention with the house. He will only stand by a governor while at his devotion, and standing fair with the people; but in case of a rupture, instantly sacrifice prerogative on the altar of popularity. His own interest is his idol, and every thing else made subservient to procure it veneration and esteem. The men who are his greatest tools, are generally by himself the most despised; and sometimes treated with despite and insult. If they discover the least freedom of resentment (which few of them dare discover), he can with a smile, or a joke, or a promise, or a bottle, at once dissipate the struggling resolution, and reduce them to their primitive obsequiousness. By hints — by threats and blandishments — by emissaries — by dark insinuations and private cabals, he is able to render any measure hateful or popular — to put down, or raise up, whom, when, and what he pleases. Nay, my Lord, I will venture to affirm — and every man in the province must bear me testimony — that while his influence continues to be supported with his office of chief justice, no operation, in which this colony is concerned, can promise success, should this monopolizer of power be determined to obstruct it.

Reflections
on popular
merit.

SHOULD it now be inquired, Must not a man so extremely popular be necessarily possessed of eminent virtue, and warmly devoted to the weal of the people, who thus cordially resound his fame, submit to his controul, and agree

agree to adorn his triumph? The question can only come from a novice in history, and a stranger to mankind. In the judgment of your Lordship, who is deeply read in both, I am confident that popularity is no indication of merit. With the deluded multitude the best men are often unpopular --- the most pernicious, extolled and adored. The people are ever ready to be bewitched, cheated, and enslaved by a powerful crafty seducer: and, what is worse, ever ready to sacrifice whoever would disabuse and release them. The same people who could without emotion behold a Sidney bleeding in defence of public liberty, could commit a riot in rescuing a Sachelverel for preaching sedition, and subverting the nation. Your Lordship remembers that Massanello, in the short space of ten days, was a poor fisherman, --- a popular incendiary, --- a sovereign viceroy, --- stripped of his honours, --- treated like a malefactor, --- knocked on the head, --- and thrown into a ditch. Who, in fine, was more popular than the pestilent Claudius, except, perhaps, the more pestilent Cataline? 'Twas therefore well observed by the protector Cromwell, that the very men who followed him with acclamations and torrents of flattery, would with the same demonstrations of joy accompany him to the gallows.

Thus, my Lord, I have presented you with a faithful portrait of the Lieut. Governor of New York, who is to bear no small share in the public affairs, of which I have the honour to transmit your Lordship an account --- a
 portrait,

1754. portrait, under which there had been no need of fixing a name to direct to the original, those who have the least knowledge of that gentleman's character.

Character of
Mr. Thomas
Pownal.

WHILE these things were transacting at Albany, Mr. Pownal, brother to John Pownal, Esq; one of the secretaries to the Board of Trade, was upon the spot. This gentleman came over to America with Sir Danvers Osborn, in quality of his private secretary; though it was imagined by many, he was designed to be an assistant to him in the exercise of the government. He is something of a scholar, but a confused reasoner; and in his stile perplexed; and in that usefulest of all sciences, the knowledge of mankind, he is a mere novice: without the latter, your Lordship knows that other acquirements are comparatively of small account, in the management of public business. To be only learned, is frequently to be vain, ostentatious, and obstinate; such a one, in a word, as Tertullian describes the most learned among the heathens, "an animal of glory." This gentleman is fond of being considered *in an important light*. Insatiable of praise, he can not only hear himself flattered; but, what is more unaccountable in a man of tolerable sense, can flatter himself. He is a person of uncommon application, and a good memory. By dint of industry, and an access to the papers in the Plantation Board Office, he has acquired some knowledge of American affairs: but so keen is his appetite for promotion, that he cannot brook the thoughts of a gradual advancement. He is for galloping
into

into preferment : and so intent on the contemplation of his future grandeur, as to lose all patience in earning it. Being more skilled in books than men, he is very abrupt in giving a scholastic turn to conversation, in order to display his erudition. Ever ready to contradict : himself impatient of contradiction. But wonderful is his knack at pluming himself with the schemes and inventions of others ; and, with the daw in the fable, shining in a borrowed dress : a remarkable instance of which I shall give your Lordship in the following anecdote ; as characteristic of a person, who will appear to have had some considerable influence in the course of American transactions. During the sitting of the congress, it was scarce possible to prevent part of their sentiments from transpiring. The scheme of a naval armament on Lake Ontario, projected by Lieut. Governor Clarke, before the late war ; submitted to the then ministry ; and now strongly recommended by the commissioners of the Massachusetts Bay ; by some means or other happened to be hinted without-doors. Mr. Pownal, intent upon rising into significance among the colonies, chose not to slip so favourable an opportunity of distinguishing himself, as he could now lay hold of, from these whispered intelligences. He accordingly drew up some loose indigested proposals, with respect to American affairs. Among other trite sentiments, he urged this scheme as a new unthought-of measure, absolutely requisite to secure the command, and preserve the furr trade of those inland seas.

1754.

Anecdotes
respecting a
piece he pub-
lished.

1754. seas. This he delivered to some of the members of the congress to be communicated: and afterwards transmitted a copy to England; challenging to himself the sole merit of being the original author of so useful and necessary an expedient *.

Shirley erects
forts on Ken-
nebec.

WHILE the congress was held at Albany, Governor Shirley, ever jealous of French machinations, proceeded, at the head of about one thousand men, to the river Kennebec; and erected forts, at convenient distances, to stop the progress of the French on that quarter; to secure the possession of that country with the friendship of the eastern Indians.

*ne without their
sentiments against
opinion of the
plans but rather
more a grant
of £400*

THE remainder of this year was principally spent in repeated representations to the ministry, respecting the dangerous situation of the English colonies; and the absolute necessity of a powerful assistance from Great Britain, to defeat the ambitious designs of the Court of France.

1755. ON the welcome intelligence of the success of these representations; and while forces were expecting from England; the two regiments of Shirley and Pepperel were ordered to be re-established, and recruits were raising thro' the several governments, to form an army for dispossessing the French from their late encroachments.

* Mr. Pownall had this piece published in New York in Feb. 1756. It contained an introduction, declaring, that copies of it were sent by the ministry to the respective governors of the colonies: and in the spring following, it was republished, with great ostentation, in the English magazines. With respect to those parts of it, wherein he talks of Indian affairs, the sentiments seem to be unintelligible by a North-American understanding.

THE general assembly of the Massachusetts Bay being convened, and the members sworn to secrecy; Mr. Shirley communicated to them a design of attacking Fort St. Frederic at Crown Point, the ensuing spring; and his intention to appoint Col. Johnson to the command of that expedition. The scheme being approved by the council and representatives of that province, and the quotas settled, commissioners were charged to the neighbouring governments, to solicit their concurrence and aid, in the prosecution of this enterprize.

1755.
Designs an expedition against Crown Point.

WHILE these matters were in agitation, Mr. Pownal was at Boston, intending to sail from thence to England. He now thought fit to change his resolution; and Governor Shirley honoured him with the embassy to New York, for which place he set out the beginning of March. Some gentlemen of the council and assembly were commissioned, on the like errand, to the other colonies of New Jersey, Pennsylvania, &c.

MR. POWNAL'S prospects of success at New York were at first not very encouraging. De Lancey, jealous of Shirley's rising reputation, appeared, with regard to the expedition recommended, extremely phlegmatic: and tho' artful enough to abstain from an open opposition, he made use of Mr. Chambers as his tool in council, to obstruct the concurrence of the legislature. At this time great animosities were prevailing in the province, occasioned by a charter just before granted by Mr. De Lancey, constituting a college for the education of youth, upon a foundation

De Lancey endeavours to obstruct the concurrence of New York.

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which

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1755. which happened to enkindle the general disgust. The majority of the house, apprehending the loss of their seats on a future election, should they afford it the least assistance, found themselves obliged rather to countenance the popular resentment. A gentleman of distinction, with whom Mr. Pownal advised on the subject of his commission, thought it a prudent step to open his message in part, to those members of the assembly, who, on the above-mentioned account, were then in the opposition. Several of the leading men were secured by this method: and when the house met, such a disposition appeared to join in the scheme proposed, that it was beyond Mr. De Lancey's power to obstruct it. Out of pique however to Mr. Shirley, to whom this expedition was solely committed, he prevailed upon them to suspend the execution of their vote, until General Braddock's approbation was obtained: and by this artifice occasioned a considerable delay in the operations.

But in vain.

Braddock convenes the governors, and settles the operations.

GENERAL BRADDOCK, being now arrived in Virginia, sent expresses to the several governors to meet him, in order to a consultation on the business of the approaching campaign. — This convention was opened on the 14th of April *, at Alexandria in Virginia. Here it appeared,

* It was at first proposed to have been held at Annapolis in Maryland. Mr. Shirley, who thro' the multiplicity of his affairs did not arrive there till April, has been charged with delaying Braddock's march near three weeks; tho' it is notorious, that delay was occasioned by the failure of the Virginia contract for the necessary supplies. The general was afterwards obliged to enter into a new one with gentlemen in Pennsylvania; which was not completed till the 27th of May, near six weeks from the conclusion of the congress.

ad: after writing Annapolis in which Genl Shirley left it August. Shirley did arrive at Alexandria

... of 13 April I was back to Boston the 11th May, at about which time I saw his forces had got so far as Wiler's Creek. June 9th Shirley's division marched from Boston. but the 16th Braddock marched with his last division from Fort Cumberland. about the 2^d July Shirley left Boston & wth 11th arrived at Albany, 2 days before wth poor Braddock was defeated that.

that thro' misrepresentations from Virginia, the general ^{1755.} was enjoined to proceed immediately to Fort Du Quesne. Those who were well acquainted with the country, could not help observing, that a march from Potowmac, across the Allegheny mountains, must be attended with incredible difficulty, hazard, and expence --- that the vicinity of New York to Canada — its fort of Oswego on Lake Ontario — together with the advantages of water carriage — rendered that province by far the fittest theatre of action. Braddock's orders were nevertheless positive. --- For the preservation therefore of Oswego, and the reduction of Niagara, it was at length agreed, that Shirley's and Pepperel's regiments should proceed to Lake Ontario, — while General Braddock attacked Fort Du Quesne — and the provincial troops, commanded by General Johnson, marched to invest Crown Point.

THESE resolutions being taken, Mr. Shirley began his journey to Boston, to prepare for the expedition under his immediate command; to forward that under Col. Johnson; and to quicken the departure of the New England troops, now assembled by his Majesty's directions, for reducing the French settlements in Nova Scotia. On his way, he spent some time in conference with Col. Schuyler, a gentleman of fortune and courage, who, out of disinterested love to his country, was engaged to head a regiment of 500 men, raised and maintained by the province of New Jersey. In New York, he was retarded a few days to consult with General Johnson, and remove some objections made by Mr. De Lancey to

Shirley returns to Boston, to prepare for the Northern Expeditions.

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1755. the form of his commission: * and in Connecticut, to hasten the assembling the troops of that colony †.

THE necessary dispatches being given to the expedition to Nova Scotia under Col. Winslow, Mr. Shirley, upon the arrival of the paymaster for the northern district, returned to New York; and on the 4th of July failed for Albany, his own regiment having passed by for that place, in twenty-one transports, a few days before.

ABOUT this time, the colonies were filled with universal joy, on the agreeable news that the New England troops were become masters of Beau-sejour and Bay Verte, on the isthmus of Nova Scotia; whereby a new province

* Mr. Johnson had his commission from the governors of the provinces, which furnished the troops under his command; the draft of which was settled at Alexandria. The Lieut. Governor of New York now thought proper to repeat those very objections, which had been there over-ruled. This unaccountable conduct gave Mr. Johnson great uneasiness, who could not obtain Mr. De Lancey's commission, till proper notice was taken by General Shirley of so manifest an obstruction to the operations of the campaign.

† Connecticut had voted one thousand men for the Crown Point expedition, and given assurances of 500 more, if the service so required. New York was to supply 800; but thro' the delay occasioned by the suspending clause above-mentioned in the vote of our assembly, Mr. De Lancey's brother was sent into Connecticut, to obtain leave for recruiting the quota we were to furnish, in that colony; as men might there be raised more speedily than in the province of New York. Mr. Shirley being at Hertford, during this application, was told by Governor Fitch, that if Connecticut complied, they should consider themselves disengaged from the assurances given of 500 more than their own quota, did the service demand it. This, with Mr. Oliver De Lancey's declaration — that if himself should accept the command of the New York regiment, he could in ten days raise the whole number in this province, induced Mr. Shirley to oppose the application; it appearing to him not improbable, that the service might afterwards require the reinforcement offered. In consequence of which, only 300 recruits were furnished New York from thence. — A lucky incident for Mr. Shirley's adversaries to incense the people of New York against him; to which purpose it was industriously applied; tho' his conduct in that affair was prudent and rational; and tho' by repeated letters to Lieut. Governor De Lancey, he took pains to remove any misunderstanding at a juncture so unreasonable.

was

*2 Troops
of Boston
of May. 4
under the
master arrived
Aug. 2. 1755 of
same month
Mr. Shirley
not leave
from till abt
1st or 2^d July.
arrived at Albany
23 months after
seeing Mr. Brad.
Virginia*

and fails for
Albany.

Nova Scotia
reduced.

Col. Monk

was added to the British empire in America : and that a ^{1755.} strong fleet, under Admiral Boscawen, lay before Louisburgh, to intercept the French supplies ; and which had also seized two of their capital ships, the Lys and Alcide, and sent them into Halifax.

GENERAL BRADDOCK was now on his march towards the Ohio, at the head of about 2200 men, in order to invest Fort Du Quesne, and drive the French from their encroachments on the frontiers of Virginia and Pennsylvania. From Fort Cumberland to Fort Du Quesne, the distance is not less than 130 miles. Mr. Braddock began his march from the former on the 10th of June ; leaving the garrison under the command of Col. Innes. Innumerable were the difficulties he had to surmount, in a country rugged, pathless, and unknown, across the Allegheny mountains, thro' unfrequented woods, and dangerous defiles. From the little meadows the army proceeded in two divisions. At the head of the first, consisting of 1400 men, was the general himself, with the greatest part of the ammunition and artillery. The second, with the provisions, stores, and heavy baggage, was led by Col. Dunbar. Never was man more confident of success, than this brave, tho' unfortunate officer. Being advised at the great meadows, that the enemy expected a reinforcement of 500 regular troops, he pushed on by forced marches, with so much dispatch, that he fatigued the soldiers, weakened his horses, and left his second division near 40 miles in the rear. The enemy being

Braddock
marches
from Fort
Cumber-
land.

*w^ld. shou^d have been
prevented by their
early march to
ofwego*

1755. being not more than 200 strong at their fort on the Ohio, gave no obstruction to the march of our forces, till the memorable 9th of July — a day never to be forgotten in the annals of North America. About noon our troops passed the Monagahela, and were then within seven miles of Fort Du Quesne. --- Unapprehensive of the approach of an enemy, at once was the alarm given, by a quick and heavy fire upon the vanguard, under Lieut. Col. Gage. Immediately the main body, in good order and high spirits, advanced to sustain them. Orders were then given to halt, and form into battalia. At this juncture the van falling back upon them, in great confusion, a general panic seized the whole body of the soldiery; and all attempts to rally them proved utterly ineffectual. The general and all the officers exerted their utmost activity, to recover them from the universal surprize and disorder: but equally deaf were they to intreaties and commands. During this scene of confusion, they expended their ammunition in the wildest and most unmeaning fire. Some discharging their pieces on our own parties, who were advanced from the main body for the recovery of the cannon. After three hours spent in this melancholy situation, enduring a terrible slaughter, from (it may be said) an *invisible* foe, orders were given to sound a retreat, that the men might be brought to cover the wag-gons. These they surrounded but a short space of time: for the enemy's fire being again warmly renewed from the front and left flank, the whole army took to immediate

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diate flight ; leaving behind them all the artillery, provisions, ammunition, baggage, military chest, together with the general's cabinet, containing his instructions and other papers of consequence. So great was the consternation of the soldiers, that it was impossible to stop their career, flying with the utmost precipitation three miles from the field of action ; where only one hundred began to make a more orderly retreat. 1755.

WHAT was the strength of the enemy, has hitherto remained to us uncertain. According to Indian accounts, they exceeded not 400, chiefly Indians : and whether any were slain, is still to be doubted, for few were seen by our men, being covered by stumps and fallen trees. Great indeed was the destruction on our side. --- Numbers of officers sacrificed their lives thro' singular bravery. Extremely unfortunate was the whole staff. The general, after having five horses shot under him, received a wound in his lungs thro' his right arm, of which he died in four days. His secretary, eldest son of Major General Shirley, a gentleman of great accomplishments, by a shot thro' the head, was killed upon the spot. Mr. Orme and Capt. Morris, aid-de-camps, were all wounded. Of the 44th regiment, Sir Peter Halket, Colonel, was slain, with several other officers ; and Lieut. Col. Gage wounded. Lieut. Col. Burton, of the 48th regiment, was among the wounded ; and many gallant officers perished in the field. Our whole loss was about seven hundred killed and wounded.

To

1755.

To what
causes the
defeat was
ascribed.

To what causes this unhappy catastrophe is to be ascribed, has been matter of much inquiry and animated debate. The officers charged the defeat to the cowardice of the men: but, in a representation they made to Mr. Shirley, by order of the Crown, they in some measure apologize for their behaviour --- alledging, that they were harrassed by duties unequal to their numbers, and dispirited thro' want of provisions: That time was not allowed them to dress their food: That their water (the only liquor too they had) was both scarce and of a bad quality: In fine, that the provincials had disheartened them, by repeated suggestions of their fears of a defeat, should they be attacked by Indians; in which case the European method of fighting would be intirely unavailing. But, my Lord, however censurable the conduct of the soldiery may be thought, Mr. Braddock, too sanguine in his prospects, was generally blamed for neglecting to cultivate the friendship of the Indians, who offered their assistance; and who, it is certain, had a number of them preceded the army, would have seasonably discovered the enemy's ambuscade. The Virginian rangers also, instead of being made to serve as regulars in the ranks with the English troops, should have been employed as out-scouts. But this step, so necessary to guard against surprize, was too unhappily omitted; the whole army, according to the representation above mentioned, following only *three or four guides*.

WHEN

WHEN the routed party joined the second division, ^{1755.} forty miles short of the place of action, the terror diffused itself thro' the whole army. Your Lordship might naturally expect to hear, that Col. Dunbar then intrenched himself, and called on the neighbouring colonies for immediate reinforcements; --- as by such a step the enemy might have been detained at Fort Du Quesne, prevented from ravaging the frontiers, or throwing succours into Niagara. But alas! my Lord, an infatuation seemed to accompany all our measures on the southern quarter. Fearful of an unpursuing foe, all the ammunition, and so much of the provisions were destroyed, for accelerating their flight, that Dunbar was actually obliged to send for thirty horse-loads of the latter, before he reached Fort Cumberland --- where he arrived a very few days after, with the shattered remains of the English troops.

Dunbar retreats precipitately to Fort Cumberland.

ON Mr. Braddock's unhappy catastrophe, the command of his Majesty's forces in North America devolved upon Major General Shirley. I before acquainted your Lordship of his return to New York, and departure from thence to Albany, where he arrived the beginning of July.

Major Gen. Shirley assumes the command.

ALBANY, my Lord, was the grand theatre of all the preparations for the northern expedition against Fort St. Frederic, as well as that to the westward for the reduction of Niagara. The general, on his arrival there, found not the former in the forwardness he had reason to expect. The provincials discontented with the inacti-

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1755. vity of a long encampment, Major General Lyman was obliged to make short marches, to prevent their disbanding; and the general was therefore detained awhile in that city, to hinder so fatal an event. His own troops in the mean time were filing off, in different divisions, from Schenectady, towards Oswego.

Is detained
at Albany.

Route to
Oswego.

OSWEGO, along the accustomed route, is computed to be about 300 miles west from Albany. The first sixteen, to the village of Schenectady, is land carriage, in a good waggon road. From thence to the Little Falls, in the Mohawk River, at sixty-five miles distance, the battoes * are set against a rapid stream; which too, in dry seasons, is so shallow, that the men are frequently obliged to turn out, and draw their craft over the rifts with inconceivable labour. At the Little Falls, the portage exceeds not a mile: the ground being marshy will admit of no wheel-carriage, and therefore the Germans who reside here, transport the battoes in sleds, which they keep for that purpose. The same conveyance is used at the Great Carrying-Place, sixty miles beyond the Little Falls; all the way to which the current is still adverse, and extremely swift. The portage here is longer or shorter, according to the dryness or wetness of the seasons. In the last summer months, when rains are not frequent, it is usually six or eight miles across. Taking water again, we enter a narrow rivulet, called the Wood-creek, which

good Waggon Road

* A battoe is a light flat-bottomed boat, widest in the middle, and at each end sharp pointed, of about 1500 weight burden, and managed by two men, with paddles and setting-poles.

leads

leads into the Oneida Lake, distant forty miles. This stream, tho' favourable, being shallow, and its banks covered with thick woods, was at this time much obstructed with old logs and fallen trees. The Oneida Lake stretches from east to west about thirty miles, and in calm weather is passed with great facility. At its western extremity opens the Onondaga River, leading down to Oswego, situated at its entrance on the south side of the Lake Ontario. Extremely difficult and hazardous is the passage thro' this river, as it abounds with rifts and rocks; and the current flowing with surprising rapidity. The principal obstruction is twelve miles short of Oswego, and is a fall of about eleven feet perpendicular. The portage here is by land, not exceeding forty yards, before they launch for the last time.

YOUR LORDSHIP, from this account, will readily conceive, that thro' such a long amphibious march an army must proceed with prodigious risque and fatigue; and the battoes be necessarily conducted by persons skilled in the navigation, and enured to hardships. For this service General Shirley had engaged all the young men in the county of Albany, who formerly had been employed in the Indian trade at Oswego: and a vast number of battoes were prepared for the conveyance of the troops, stores, and provisions.

OSWEGO was formerly garrisoned by twenty-five men; but on the commencement of our present disputes, the number was augmented to fifty. Early this spring fifty

1755. more were ordered up: and about the latter end of May, Capt. Bradstreet arrived there with 200, besides workmen to be employed in the naval preparations, pursuant to the scheme concerted in the congress of commissioners at Albany the last summer.

Troops proceed to that garrison.

COL. SCHUYLER's New Jersey regiment embarked in two divisions from Schenectady, the beginning of July. Shirley's and Pepperell's were preparing to follow, when the melancholy news of Gen. Braddock's defeat reached that place. This struck a general damp on the spirits of the soldiers, and many deserted. Great numbers of the battomen dispersed themselves into the country, and fled to their respective habitations. To engage the return of above half the fugitives, equally ineffectual were threats or promises, rewards or punishments. The general, however, sensible of the importance of the service, pursued his march in spite of every vexatious disappointment. As he passed their country, he called upon the Indians of the Six Nations at some of their castles; and sent ambassadors to the rest, pressing them to join him, with assurances of his protection. But they seemed in general greatly disinclined to our western operations. Indian affairs had been too long neglected by the province of New York, to which the principal management of them has always been committed. Neither the sums allotted for presents to those savages, were always by our governors fairly expended; nor the presents themselves honestly distributed. And partly thro' repeated frauds, and the omission

Six Nations averse to the Niagara expedition, and why.

omission of proper measures to conciliate their favour, our interest with them amounted to little more than a bare neutrality. Mr. Johnson nevertheless pretending a mighty influence over them, was intrusted with 5000 l. sterling, in order to engage their assistance for the general benefit of his Majesty's service. For this purpose he held a congress with some of their principal sachems at Mount-Johnson *, soon after his return from Alexandria.

1755.

Johnson holds a conference with them.

YOUR LORDSHIP is pleased to insist upon my " descending into a detail of every transaction, how minute soever, that can give any light into the more secret springs of our political action." I shall therefore acquaint your Lordship, that upon the general's arrival at Albany, Mr. Johnson laid before him a copy of the minutes of his late treaty with the Indians. These minutes, it seems, contained some unhandsome reflections upon his excellency; insinuating, that to treat separately with them, he had employed one Lydius, a person of not the most unexceptionable character, either for loyalty or integrity. The single reason upon which the surmise could be founded was this. Lydius, who formerly lived near Lake George, and whose Indian acquaintance was very extensive, had offered the general his assistance, in procuring the junction of a number of them, on the designed expeditions. Upon which he wrote to Mr. Johnson, intimating the pleasure it would give him, if he could make any use of this man in his Majesty's service.

Anecdote of Johnson and Shirley.

* Sir William Johnson's own seat, near the lower Mohawk castle, about 36 miles from Albany.

1755. On delivering those minutes into the general's hands, Johnson, sensible of the insinuation, told him, he intirely disapproved the reflection they seemed to contain, and appeared ashamed of its insertion. Having perused the paper, Shirley could not avoid complaining of the ill usage; while the other with solemn vows protested, he was not privy to it, and importuned him to return the minutes, that he might erase the obnoxious passage. The former confided in the sincerity of his protestations, but soon after had abundant reason to distrust his integrity.

THE general had applied to one Staats, who resided near Albany, and had a considerable interest with the Indians of Stockbridge *. He proposed to him his raising a company of them, as a guard to the battoes in their passage to Oswego. Privately was this man intimidated from the undertaking: and Mr. Johnson, to induce him to break thro' his promises, offered him a captain's commission, could he engage an Indian company to proceed on the expedition under his own direction.

YOUR LORDSHIP, being already informed of this gentleman's appointment to the command of the provincial army, by the interest of General Shirley, will scarce have patience at the recital of a conduct so astonishing and ungrateful. The secret, my Lord, was this. ---

* Stockbridge, by the Indians called Houfatonuc, lies upon the western confines of the Massachusetts Bay, in the eastern parts of the province of New York.

Mr.

Mr. Johnson was never distinguished for his sense or penetration. He had now for his aid-de-camp Capt. ^{1755.} Wraxal, a man of art and genius, who a few years before had been appointed secretary for Indian affairs, and clerk of the city and county of Albany. Governor Clinton had granted a commission for the latter of those offices, before the date of Wraxal's sign manual. A suit was therefore commenced, and is still depending between him, and the person in possession of the office, suspended on the determination of a point of law. Upon this account Wraxal became a humble dependant on Lieut. Governor De Lancey, before whom, unless superseded in the chief command, the case must be determined upon a writ of error: The latter, who had been a declared enemy to Johnson, throughout the whole of Clinton's administration, and had even prevented the assembly from discharging a very equitable demand he had against the province for services and disbursements, now determined to fall in with, and set him up, in competition with Shirley. Wraxal's post and dependence afforded a fine opportunity for the purpose: and so Johnson became strongly attached to the Lieut. Governor. Your Lord-^{Evil effects of it.}ship will no longer wonder at his procuring all the Indians he could prevail upon, to join the provincial troops under his own command; or at his attempts to excite others to embarrass and obstruct the general's designs upon the Lake Ontario. In support of a charge so heavy as this, I think it incumbent upon me to assign the following

1755. ing instances: 1. Not an Indian joined General Shirley at Schenectady, agreeably to Mr. Johnson's positive assurances. 2. Nor at either of the castles in the five cantons, as he passed thro' them to Oswego: but, on the contrary; 3, One Bant, an Onondaga (three of whose sons were in Johnson's army) at the head of several other Indians, declared to Mr. Shirley at Oswego, that it was a place of trade and peace --- that there should be no war there --- and that he should not disturb the French; adding, that he was going with the like message to Canada. The general having convinced him, that the expulsion of the French from their encroachments must redound to the advantage of the Six Nations; he asserted, that Mr. Johnson had sent them upon this embassy to Canada. Tho' this appeared utterly incredible, 'tis nevertheless certain, 4, several other Indians arrived from the Onondaga castle, with a belt, declaring it to have been sent them by Mr. Johnson, with his request, that not a man of them would join the King's troops, under the command of General Shirley. 5. Others also, from the Seneca, Oneida, and Cayuga cantons concurred in the like reports; particularly one Redhead, an Indian of great fame, and a speaker at the late congress at Mount-Johnson, came to Oswego, in his way to Oswagatic or la Gallette, and desired the cessation of all military designs; affirming, that with the same request he was going to the French.

It was with difficulty, my Lord, these Indians were reconciled to our attempts, detained at Oswego, and there-^{1755.} by prevented from communicating our operations to the enemy. The general, from these instances, became more and more suspicious, that the faction at New York were endeavouring to embarrass and impede his measures. What farther confirmed his suspicions, that the Lieut. Governor of New York, with that view, made Mr. Johnson his instrument, was a letter, which after his arrival at Oswego he received from the latter, wherein he justified that very aspersions before disavowed, contained in the minutes above recounted.

MY LORD, we will now leave Mr. Shirley at Oswego; and pursue the course of transactions, as well at New York, as in the southern colonies.

DUNBAR, having reached Fort Cumberland, dispatched an Indian express to General Shirley, with an account with the defeat, and the necessary returns respecting the troops under his command; acquainting him, moreover, with his intention of marching to Philadelphia, and his hopes of meeting his orders at Shippenburgh. About the same time Mr. Dinwiddie wrote to Dunbar, proposing a second attempt on Fort Du Quesne. But a council being thereupon held, the members of which were Col. Dunbar, Lieut. Col. Gage, Governor Sharpe, Major Chapman, Major Sparke, and Sir John St. Clair, it was unanimously conceived, that Mr. Dinwiddie's scheme was impracticable. The very next day, being the second

Dunbar
marches to
Philadel-
phia.

1755. of August, Dunbar began his march towards Philadelphia, with 1600 men, four six-pounders, and as many cohorts; leaving behind him the Virginia and Maryland companies, and about 400 wounded. At this sudden departure of the forces, the Virginians were extremely disobliged, as not only exposing their frontiers, and occasioning the daily desertion of their provincials; but because the enemy, in flying parties, penetrated into the province, and on many of the inhabitants committed robberies and murder. What judgment ought to be formed of this retreat, I leave your Lordship to determine. Certainly those southern colonies ought to have strengthened General Braddock with a large body of provincial forces, which had doubtless prevented all that effusion of blood and treasure --- the fatal consequence of their ill-judged parsimony! Upon the advices received from Dunbar, Mr. Shirley gave orders for renewing the attempt, if the southern colonies would readily afford him a competent reinforcement.

Frontiers of
Virginia left
exposed.

Another at-
tempt on
Fort Du
Quefne pro-
posed.

But Pennsyl-
vania with-
holds her
Aid.

GOVERNOR MORRIS having convened the Pennsylvania assembly, informed them of the retreat of our army, and in a well-drawn pathetic speech, pressed them to the most vigorous measures for the defence of their borders. They proceeded so far as to vote for raising 50,000 l. but offering a bill for taxing the proprietary-estate, an immediate rupture ensued, of which your Lordship is long since acquainted, by the ample accounts in fundry late pamphlets on that and similar subjects. As to Virginia---

now

now equally open to the irruptions of the enemy, four companies of rangers were ordered out, and the assembly voted 40,000 l. for furnishing a thousand men for the frontier defence. About the same time, met the council and assembly of New Jersey, and the latter voted 30,000 l. for the public service: but as the house proposed to prolong the currency of the bills for nine years, to which Mr. Belcher, who never swerves from his instructions, not being able to assent, 15000 l. only was raised, and its use restricted to keeping on foot her regiment at Oswego, commanded by Col. Schuyler. At New York, the house of representatives assembled on the 5th of August, and set out with a generous spirit. Agreeable to the request of the Massachusetts Bay government, always foremost in military affairs, they resolved to reinforce the provincial army, destined for Crown Point, with 400 men. The bill was actually passed the house for that purpose; and the council had determined to conceal from their knowledge, the contents of a second letter from Gen. Shirley to Col. Dunbar, of the 7th of August, in which he ordered him to proceed with his troops to Albany, for the protection of that important post, in case the colony forces should meet with a repulse. By this bill the assembly proposed to invest the respective captains of the city militia with an arbitrary power to draught men for the service. The design of this extraordinary project was suspected to serve a particular purpose, on a new election of representatives, which, according

1755.

Virginia provides for her frontier Defence alone.

New Jersey only continues her regiment in pay.

De Lancey's management with respect to the reinforcement designed by New York.

1755. cording to custom, it was thought would immediately ensue the arrival of Sir Charles Hardy, who was soon expected with with a commission for the chief command of this province. It certainly was a favourite bill; for, contrary to precedent, the Lieut. Governor came to the council board *, and pressed them to pass it: but when he perceived an amendment preparing for a ballot of the recruits in New York, as well as in the other counties, he immediately laid the general's letter to Dunbar before the house --- in consequence of which, the design of a reinforcement instantly dropped, and the assembly adjourned the next day.

His influence
over the
assembly.

AFTER what I have already recounted, your Lordship will not, I presume, be at all surprized, to find Mr. De Lancey leaving no device untried, to maintain the sole direction of the assembly. He knew that on his interest with the representatives depended his credit with the ministry; and that with the expiration of his power to carry certain points of prerogative, would also expire their opinion of his importance. His agents in England, to support their patron, had hitherto amused a certain noble Lord with many specious promises. They had represented his capacity to serve the Crown in very magnificent terms; nor forgot his readiness to procure, whenever an opportunity presented, the obedience of the house to some favourite instructions. Hence it is evident, that

* Before the administration of Governor Cosby, it was customary for the governors to be present in the council, even when sitting in their legislative capacity. But since that period, they have not openly interposed in the consultations of that branch of the legislature.

the loss of his ascendancy over that branch of the legislature, must naturally terminate in the extinction of his grandeur derived from the Crown. 1755.

WHILE he held the reins of government, assumed on Sir Danvers Osborne's decease, the ministry had none to inspect his conduct, or trace him thro' the mazy labyrinth of his politics. From himself came all their intelligence, and hence undoubtedly none in his own disfavour. During these golden days of security and repose, he resigned himself to pleasure, and indulged his natural disposition to voluptuousness and ease. The province, the meanwhile, was principally governed by his secretary; who, like a second Atlas, bore the chief burden of the state. Thus negligent of his politics, his popularity began to suffer a manifest declension. It was moreover notably abridged by his passing the charter before-mentioned, repugnant, by his own confession, to the dictates of his judgment. By this step he incurred such general umbrage, that the very members of the assembly could not be wrought upon to confirm it. Nay, so disgustful to the people was this charter, that a majority of the most reputable inhabitants united against it in a petition to the house. Civil liberty, and by some, even the rights of conscience were imagined to be in danger; and the opposition being, as it were, *pro aris & focis*, was extremely animated. The Lieut. Governor became now apprehensive of the consequence. He stood upon the point of resigning his command to a successor hourly expected; and,

His popularity declines.

1755. and, without regaining his seat as chief justice, his popularity appeared descending from its meridian: nor, in case of a dissolution was he insensible his authority with the house must suffer a total eclipse. Your Lordship cannot therefore but observe, of what moment it was, to secure the friendship of the next governor. Permit me to mention the arts, whereby it was accomplished.

He secures
the ear of
his successor;

SIR CHARLES HARDY arrived in our harbour on the 2d of September 1755. The council immediately convened themselves for his reception. In the midst of their consultations, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, without leave of the board, bolts into the chamber, and modestly interposes his advice, to send a message to Sir Charles, requesting his continuance in the ship, till the next morning. The reason assigned was, to gain time for drawing out the the militia, to receive his excellency at landing, with the formality and honour due to his rank. But the true secret was, to gain an opportunity for the Lieut. Governor, and a select juncto, to pass the evening with him, in order to conciliate his graces, and give him early impressions in favour of their party. The next day, the governor published his commission; and was, by Mr. De Lancey, invited to a public entertainment. In the evening they conducted him to the common, to hear the acclamations of the people; and on every occasion, followed him with servile court and adulation. To impress a high sense of his predecessor's popularity, they spared no pains. For this purpose also they intrigued with the assembly,

assembly, and city corporation, two elective bodies, and thence under his influence. Of the latter, Mr. Oliver De Lancey, as alderman, was a member; and, with true fraternal affection, stimulated the board to insert in their address a compliment to his brother. A modest motion, my Lord! and so vehemently urged, that it was carried, tho' not without some opposition. The burden of that momentous passage, without which the whole had been jejune and insipid, was discharged in these terms — “ We have the greatest reason to expect the continuation of that wise and happy administration, we have been blessed with some time past.” Still greater was Mr. De Lancey's interest in the assembly, as I have already had the honour to acquaint your Lordship. But one gentleman in that house opposed the flattery of their address. He is a man of an affluent independent fortune, a bold unshackled spirit, and of strong natural parts. The address was calculated to secure De Lancey's power both with governor and people: the former, by displaying to Sir Charles his formidable interest in that house: the latter, by preventing a dissolution; than which nothing was the object of greater dread. “ It has, Sir, (these are the expressions) been usual in this colony, at the accession of a new governor, to give the people an opportunity of a new election of representatives. If your excellency conceives, that such a measure, in the present state of affairs, will be consistent with his Majesty's service, and the security of this his loyal colony,

1755.
and procure
eulogiums
on his own
administra-
tion.

1755. " it will be agreeable to us, and to the people we have
 " the honour to represent.

" THE importance of the business under our confi-
 " deration, and the dispatch necessary to accomplish it,
 " will plead our excuse to your excellency, for not being
 " earlier in this address.

" AND here, Sir, we should have ended, were we not
 " in justice bound to pay some acknowledgement to the
 " administration of your excellency's predecessor the
 " Lieut. Governor; whose upright intentions, as far as we
 " had opportunities of discovering them, ever tended
 " to his Majesty's honour and service, and the welfare
 " and prosperity of this colony."

MR. DE LANCEY is one of the most fortunate of men. While the people impatiently expected a dissolution, an express arrived on the 12th of September, with a confused, but alarming account of an action at Lake George. This rendered it necessary for Sir Charles Hardy immediately to proceed to Albany. Thither the Lieut. Governor accompanied him, and had thereby a fair opportunity to ingross and cajole him. I shall suspend the relation of his success, till I have laid before your Lordship the progress of the provincial army, and their repulse of the French.

MAJOR GEN. LYMAN, being advanced with the troops to the Carrying-Place, about 60 miles from Albany, was waiting the arrival of General Johnson, who set out from thence on the 8th of August, with the train of artillery.

Lyman

Lyman had begun a fort at the landing, on the east side of Hudson's River, now called Fort Edward. About the latter end of the month, Gen. Johnson, with the main body, moved forward 14 miles more northerly, and pitched his camp at the south end of Lake George, before called St. Sacrament. By some Indians, who had been sent as scouts, he received the following advices: --- That they had discovered a party of French and Indians at Tinonderoge, situate on the isthmus between the north end of Lake George and the southern part of Lake Champlain, 15 miles on this side Crown Point; but that no works were there thrown up. To have secured this pass, which commanded the route to Crown Point thro' the Lake, had been a measure extremely adviseable. Mr. Johnson; informed of its importance, on the 1st of September wrote to Gen. Shirley, that he was impatient to get up his battoes; proposing then to proceed with part of the troops, and seize upon that pass. The French however took advantage of the delay, and cut out work enough for him at his own camp.

Of the troops which sailed from Brest in the spring, amounting to about 3000, your Lordship knows, eight companies were taken with the Lys and Alcide men of war, who fell in with our fleet commanded by Admiral Boscawen. One thousand were landed at Louisburgh; and the residue arrived at Quebec, with Monf. de Vandreuil governor-general of Canada, and Baron Dieskau, commander of the forces. The French Court, well apprised

H

prised

1755.

Lyman
builds a fort
at the Car-
rying-Place.

1755. ^{Dieskau designs to reduce Oswego;} prised of the singular consequence of Oswego, had determined to reduce it. Such being the baron's instructions, he immediately proceeded to Montreal; from whence he detached 700 of his troops up the river, intending himself speedily to join them with the remainder. Just before he had made the necessary preparations, Montreal was alarmed with the news of our forming a numerous army near Lake St. Sacrament, for the reduction of Fort Frederic, and perhaps to penetrate into the heart of Canada. Whereupon a grand council being held; the baron was importuned to proceed thro' Lake Champlain, for the defence of that fortress: nor was he without great difficulty prevailed upon to alter his intended route.

but is diverted.

He marches to attack Gen. Johnson.

DIESKAU, having in vain waited the coming up of our army, at length resolved himself to advance towards them; and if he proved victorious, to desolate our northern settlements, lay the towns of Albany and Schenectady in ashes, and cut off all communication with Oswego: A dreadful resolution, my Lord! And had he succeeded --- I tremble at the thought --- had he succeeded. But the Supreme Disposer of events had not yet devoted us to ruin; and therefore, like the counsels of Achitophel, blasted the sanguinary purpose. ---

For the execution of this design, he embarked at Fort St. Frederic with 2000 men in battoes, and landed at the South Bay*. Of this movement, Gen. Johnson had

* About 16 miles from the English encampment.

not

not the least intimation, till his scouts discovered their actual departure from the South Bay towards Fort Edward. ^{1755.} By an English prisoner the baron was told that the fort was defenceless, and our camp at the Lake, when he left it a few days before, without lines, and destitute of cannon. Having approached within two miles of Fort Edward, he opened his design to his troops, consisting of 600 militia, as many Indians, and 200 regulars. To animate his irregulars, who seemed disinclined to the attack proposed, he assured them, that inevitable must be their success --- "that on reducing this fort, the English camp must necessarily be abandoned, and their army disperse in great disorder --- that this would enable them to subdue Albany; and by starving the garrison of Oswego, superadd to their conquest the absolute dominion of Ontario." With whatever intrepidity this harangue inspired his European troops, the Canadians and savages, fearful of our cannon, were utterly averse to the scheme; but declared their willingness to surprize our camp, where they expected nothing beyond musquetry *. Thus disappointed in his principal design, he changed his route, and began to move against the main body at the Lake. Gen. Johnson, on the information of his scouts, had dispatched separate messengers to Fort Edward, with advice of the enemy's approach towards that garrison; of which one was

His irregulars averse to the attack of Fort Edward.

He moves against our camp;

* Our artillery was got up to the camp from Fort Edward but a day or two before the action, of which the French had no intelligence.

1755. unfortunately intercepted: the rest who got back, reported, that they had descried the enemy about four miles to the northward of the fort. Instead of any attempt to discover the strength of the guard left with their battoes at the South Bay, which might easily have been cut off, a council of war resolved the next morning to detach 1000 men, with some Indians, to fall upon, or, as Mr. Johnson expresses it in his letter to the several governors, "to *catch*, the enemy in their retreat." On this service commanded Col. Williams, a brave officer, who met the baron within four miles of our camp.

THE English, my Lord, were encamped on the banks of Lake George, being covered on either side by a low thick-wooded swamp. After the march of the detachment, Gen. Johnson drew up the cannon, then at 500 yards distance from the front. Trees were also felled to form some sort of breast-work: and this was all his cover against an attack; having hitherto strangely delayed the proper retrenchments.

and meets
our detach-
ment.

ABOUT an hour after Williams's departure, a heavy fire was heard; which evidently approaching, Gen. Johnson judged rightly, that our detachment was retreating: for the French were superior in number, amounting to about 1800. Upon this he sent out a reinforcement to support them; which was very judiciously conducted on the death of Williams, by Lieut. Colonel Whiting, a Connecticut officer, who gained much applause at the reduction of Louisburgh. Gen. Johnson informs the governors, "That
" about

" about half an hour after eleven the enemy appeared ^{1755.}
 " in fight, and marched along the road in very regular
 " order, directly upon our center: That they made a
 " small halt, about 150 yards from the breast-work, when
 " the regular troops made the grand and center attack ;
 " while the Canadians and Indians squatted and dispersed
 " on our flanks." This halt was the baron's capital
 error : for, amidst the consternation at the camp, had
 he closely followed up the detachment, he had easily
 forced their lines, and gained a complete victory. But
 by continuing for some time a platoon fire, with little
 execution at that distance, our men recovered their spirits.
 As soon as the artillery began to play, Dieckau and his
 regulars found themselves totally deserted by the militia
 and savages, who all skulked into the swamps, took to
 trees, and maintained a scattered fire upon our flanks,
 for some time, with variable and intermitting briskness.
 Having now no command of any part of his army, ex-
 cept his handful of regulars, the baron thought proper to
 retire ; which he did in very great disorder. A party
 from the camp followed him, fell upon his rear, dispersed
 the remaining soldiers about him, and being himself
 wounded in the leg, was found resting on a stump, ut-
 terly abandoned and destitute of succour. Feeling for
 his watch, to surrender it, one of our men, suspecting
 him in search of a pistol, poured a charge thro' his hips ;
 of which wound he is not yet recovered. Upon his re-
 treat, the militia and Indians retired in small parties : and

He is defeat-
 ed, and
 taken pri-
 soner.

*This is an abridgement
of the falsehood
inserted probably for
the purpose of
the preceding
edition of Johnson's
letter,
Johnson assigned
was very sufficient
sons*

Gallant be-
haviour of
M^r Ginnes.

*The action happened
near Dishkew was
not*

Remark on
Wraxal's
imagination.

The enemy
not pursued.

*the M^r Melgini's
counter was prior*

as the English neglected to continue the pursuit, they halted about four miles from the camp, at the very place where the engagement happened in the morning. Opening their packs for refreshment, they here entered into consultation, respecting a second attack. Why the enemy was not pursued, when their retreat became general, no tolerable reason has ever yet been assigned; and Mr. Johnson, in his letter, seems very artfully to evade it. Nothing however could be more fortunate than the gallant behaviour of a party consisting of about 200, led by Capt. M^r Ginnes, who had been detached from Fort Edward, to the assistance of the main body. They fell upon the French in the evening, put an end to their consultations, and gave them a total overthrow. M^r Ginnes died of the wounds he received in this rencounter, having signaled himself by a spirit and conduct that would have done honour to a more experienced officer.

MR. WRAXAL, in his letter to the Lieut. Governor of New York, told him, he stood so near Gen. Johnson, when the latter received his wound, that " he thought " he saw the ball enter:" which curious piece of intelligence was obliterated before its publication. I only mention this circumstance to convince your Lordship, that the most intrepid soldier hath not always the same preference of mind.

IF the dusk of the evening was too far advanced, before the repulse at the Lake, for an immediate pursuit (which by the way could not be the case, since M^r Ginnes's encounter

encounter was subsequent) yet the neglect of it the next day admits of no colourable apology. Mr. Lyman urged it with great warmth; but the general, with most of the field officers, are accused of an equal disinclination. Mr. Johnson, to judge by his letter, seemed well satisfied with his escape, and determined with this action to close the present campaign. It was probably to avoid the prosecution of the expedition, that he transmitted no account of the battle to General Shirley; contenting himself with requesting Lieut. Governor Phipps to send a copy of his letter from Boston, tho' his own situation was 200 miles nigher to Oswego. The gentleman at Albany, to whom his dispatches were intrusted, suspecting their contents, and conceiving their communication to the general absolutely necessary for his Majesty's service, broke open the letter to Governor Phipps, and sent an express with a copy to Oswego.

THE Indians, during the whole of the engagement, some of the Mohawks only excepted, retired from the camp, waiting the event of the conflict at a convenient distance. Nor indeed was their assistance expected, by those who knew their boasted fidelity was a mere delusion, and Mr. Johnson's so much magnified influence, what it has since appeared to all men, the grossest imposture. They even declared before their march, they intended not to engage, but to be witnesses of the gallantry of our troops. And had Dieskau won the day, equally ready had they been to scalp their brethren the

English,

1755.

This General's letter to Johnson in common behaviour not infamous in the fight, not to be the spirit of the letter to send to Account Lieut. Gov. in the service who in a day published to the whole world in a common news paper a long & ridiculous attack of his own behaviour & signed his name to it

The Indians joined not in the action

*40 Indians went on with Williams, I had it from several of our people, that they all behaved like Devils, than if actually lost more in proportion than we did
Memorick was then killed*

140

1755. English, as now they appeared to exercise their brutal dexterity on the French. Moreover, they came in a body and left our army after it. to Albany, immediately after the battle, on pretence of celebrating the success of our arms, and to condole with the widows of those who fell in the action. This, says one of Mr. Johnson's encomiasts, is their custom; sub-joining prophetically, that they were in a fortnight after their departure to return to the camp. The savages, my Lord, observe no such custom, save on the conclusion of an enterprize; whereas this was scarcely commenced: and as to their return, 'tis notorious they never did. Besides, had the general the real interest pretended, would he not, for once, have induced them to postpone their triumphant festivity, and untimely condolence, when their presence at the camp, would they really fight, was of indispenfible necessity; and himself in expectation of a second attack; nor, by the strain of his letter, exempt from a little perturbation of mind?

Major Gen. Lyman maliciously charged with cowardice. To render the lustre of this gentleman's character still more refulgent, by preventing any one's sharing with him the glory of the day, a juncto combined at the camp, and framed a letter*, impeaching Mr. Lyman, the second in command, of dastardly carriage, which they procured one Cole, a fellow of no reputation, to sign, and convey to the press. A notable instance of the amazing latitude to which an invidious spirit is capable

* — Minds that will mount into superior state, Climb mischief's ladder —

RICHARDS'S Messalina.

*It is not a man
least acquainted
with the savages but
one that with them
a custom never
he departed from*

*his Cole was
that time...
He had some
maintenance with him
that he had as much
the Gentle Soldier
his Air & dress
most American
even knew his charge
against Lyman however
it not rest upon his own
spirit only, for there were
Others...*

of proceeding : So true is the poet's observation,

1755

— Men that make

Envy and crooked malice nourishment,

Dare bite the best — SHAKESP.

For, in reality, no man, my Lord, behaved with more magnanimity, than the unfortunate object of their jealousy : and from his superior merit actually arose their malignity, as he thence rivalled their deified idol. The reason why this much-injured officer deferred his vindication, was not only the disgraceful name of his calumniator, but because he expected that justice from the public ; who accordingly, in testimony of his merit, vested him, the next campaign, with the same important post. But numbers of witnesses --- eye-witnesses, utterly impartial, and not belonging to the camp, are ready to depose, that by them he was seen fighting like a lion, and exposing his life in the hottest of the battle : not to mention a gentleman * of undoubted veracity, to whom Gen. Johnson, two days after the action, frankly acknowledged in his tent, that to Lyman was chiefly to be ascribed the honour of the victory.

I SHALL now, my Lord, take the liberty to make a few remarks on Mr. Johnson's letter to the governors ; and examine the reasons assigned against pursuing his advantage, as well as those alledged for not prosecuting the expedition. The repulse of the French de-

Remarks on
Johnson's
reasons for
not pursuing
the enemy,
or prosecuting
his expedi-
tion.

* Col. John Renfalar, of Albany.

1755. livered us from such unspeakable calamity, naturally to be apprehended from the enemy's success, that we have infinite reason to thank the GOD OF ARMIES, for thus remarkably rescuing us from the jaws of perdition. Nor ought we to mention either our officers or men, who generally behaved as well as could be expected, without a suitable tribute of gratitude. But the general's own letter will enable me to convince your Lordship, that the magnificent trophies erected to his fame, sprung wholly from the New York cabal; whose services, when encircled with his laurels, he was ever after to acknowledge and retaliate

--- fana redemitus tempora lauro

--- veterem Anchisem agnoscit amicum.

By this letter he appears so conscious of deserving reprehension, rather than applause, that the latter part of his epistle is apparently calculated to divert all inquiry into the true reason of his not pursuing the enemy, and breaking up the campaign, without paying a visit to Crown Point. "Our men, says he, have suffered so much fatigue for three days past, and are constantly standing upon their arms by day, half the whole upon guard by night, and the rest lie down armed and accoutred; that both officers and men are almost worn-out." I can't help thinking, that had the general begun his breast-work more seasonably, and not waited for intelligence of the enemy's advancing, before he ordered up his cannon, his men had been less fatigued by this redoubtable action. But left the

the world should remain in the dark about the real grounds of his apprehension, he proceeds --- "The enemy ^{1755.} " may rally ; and we judge they have considerable reinforcements near at hand." I question, my Lord, whether the whole circle of history affords a single instance of an army's rallying, after the slaughter of 1000 men (his own computation) out of about 1800, the whole force of the enemy. And whence he conjectured they had any reinforcements so near at hand, as not to be able to join their routed detachment, still remains one of those arcana of state, which, by common understandings, is not to be fathomed : or, if the French consisted of 200 grenadiers, 800 Canadians, and 700 Indians (the baron's account to the general) so great a slaughter as is pretended by the letter, with the loss of the greatest part of the principal officers, and Monf. St. Pierre, who had the chief command and influence over the Indians, must have reduced them to less than 800. From these, one would have imagined, there was no danger of a second attack. Far more probable was it, that for so momentous an enterprize as the reduction of the forts before-mentioned, the French had mustered all the forces they could spare from Crown Point and Tinonderoge, where many of the regular troops were posted ; especially, as they went unfurnished with cannon. Add to this, that our army was now flushed with victory ; the enemy, on the contrary, disconcerted ; and, according to his account, most of their principal officers, and many of their men, slain ;

1755. the Indians too, by the death of St. Pierre, probably wavering and dissipated. This, if such were the facts, was a glorious opportunity to dispossess them of Tinonderoge. But the longer they were suffered to fortify, the more arduous the task to dislodge them, and the greater the loss of our present advantage, resulting from their defeat and our success. Besides, was there any probability of their return the next day, to re-assault the camp with musquetry, when the effects of our cannon (admitting them to have done the pretended execution *) was still so recent in their memories; and to the Indians, even the first time, so visibly tremendous? But the cautious general subjoins --- " We don't think it either prudent or " safe to be sending out parties in search of the dead." I agree, it had been more for his Majesty's service to have dispatched them in pursuit of the *living*. After a short paragraph concerning the wounded, his panic returns --- " I think we may expect very shortly a more " formidable attack." More formidable than what? Why, than that of their regulars firing at a distance and the Canadians and Indians running away --- " and " that the enemy will then come with artillery." I wonder whether this gentleman expected to reduce Crown Point without being exposed to the French artillery. But whence this surmise of a more formidable attack, he thinks.

* The cannon were so ill-served, and highly elevated, that they did, beyond all controversy, no execution at all; none of the dead being observed to have been killed by cannon-shot: but amongst the tops of the trees, 30 and 40 feet high, they made great and useless havock.

not proper to communicate. It was well known, the whole force sent from France amounted to about 3000: ^{1755,}
 --- that of these, admiral Boscawen took eight companies, and 1000 were in garrison at Louisburgh. Admitting therefore that all the rest arrived at Quebec, without any loss, (a favourable concession,) the utmost amount that reached Canada was about 1700; of which 500 were at Cadaraqui: so that, without any allowance for those killed at the camp, or in the mock pursuit which ensued; the whole number of regulars that arrived with Dieskau, and could come against him, but little exceeded 1100. The gentleman proceeds -- "The late Col. Williams
 " had the ground cleared for building a stockaded fort:
 " our men are so harrassed, and obliged to be upon
 " watchful duty, that I think it would be both unseason-
 " able, and I fear in vain, to set them at work upon the
 " designed fort. I design to order the New Hampshire
 " regiment up here to reinforce us; and I hope some of
 " the designed reinforcements will be with us in a few
 " days. When these fresh troops arrive, I shall" --- I dare say your Lordship expects at least the demolition of Fort St. Frederic: nothing like it --- "I shall immediately
 " set about building a fort." Still the strongest symptoms of terror and alarm: for, 'tis evident from this passage, he had now laid aside all thoughts of prosecuting the expedition, should even succours arrive, and in greater numbers than were necessary. All his puissant purposes terminated now, "in setting about building a fort." And
 if

1755. if indeed he thought Crown Point impregnable by the army then under his command, above 4000 strong, he must necessarily conclude it would be found so the next year, by double the number: and if then attempted thro' another route, his grand fortress at the end of the Lake was absolutely useless. Nor would it prove any defence to the country between Lake George and Hudson's River, while the French could penetrate it by two other more usual passages, the South-Bay and Wood-Creek; thro' the former of which they had actually marched to his camp. And as to their formidable attack with artillery, whence could they bring it, but from Crown Point? And if they learnt he intended, in the present campaign, nothing beyond building a stockaded fort, that very intelligence was sufficient to induce them to attack the camp with cannon; against which, I am confident, his fort would make but a very indifferent resistance. But, in reality, 'twas most probable they would exert their efforts in strengthening Crown Point and Tinonderoge; the reduction of which, for not improving our success at the camp, will cost us a vast addition of blood and treasure.

Reflections
on the for-
tune and
conduct of
this general.

Thus, my Lord, ended this expensive expedition in erecting a wooden fort; faulted by Mr. Montresor*; and, I dare say, derided by the enemy. So that if ever any man obtained laurels without earning them, it was this fortunate general; who, by the splendid represen-

* Chief engineer.

tations of his secretary, and the sovereign decree of his patron, is exalted into an eminent hero. To the panegyrical pen of Mr. Wral, and the --- sic volo, sic jubeo --- of Lieut. Gov. De Lancey, is to be ascribed that mighty renown, which echoed thro' the colonies, reverberated to Europe, and elevated a raw unexperienced youth into a kind of second Marlborough ---

1755-

Fortunate puer, tu nunc eris alter ab illo.

So capricious is fortune, and so fond of sporting with human affairs. The emperor Severus (I think it is Herodian tells the story) when obliged to raise the siege of Atras, the only attempt in which he had ever been baffled, thought himself conquered because he did not conquer: but our hero, it seems, is a conqueror, because he was not conquered. When a general finds himself attacked in his camp, a very quaker methinks, would forget his principles, and follow, in spite of Barclay and the meeting, the powerful dictates of nature's incentive to self-defence. And did the valour of our warrior carry him an inch farther? Did he pursue an enemy, who by flying, with the loss of about 30 men, exhibited a full proof of a most extraordinary pusillanimity? Or, if his wound (which, considering it was made by a ball visible in its flight to his aid-de-camp, must have been very capacious) rendered his personal pursuit impracticable; were any orders given to improve the fortune of the day, and destroy a fugitive army? Was not, on the contrary, the noble

1755. noble ardor of those who offered to pursue, by positive orders repressed; and a poltroon adversary suffered to escape, whose recent cowardice promised a general slaughter, and who, in their present panic, had fallen a sacrifice to our victorious arms?

Why this action was so greatly exaggerated.

THESE are facts of incontestible notoriety: and if your Lordship demands, whence then the accounts that six or eight hundred, nay a thousand, fell before the camp (when, in reality, the enemy lost not above two hundred in all the three engagements, which is less than our own loss) there is no other way of accounting for these glaring misrepresentations, than that it suited our present system of politics to have this action exaggerated and magnified. It was necessary to exalt Johnson, in order to depress Shirley, and they who had represented the expedition against Crown Point of such prodigious importance, thought it adviseable to render every thing important that was transacted in that expedition. Every man among us knew it to be an imposition; and yet ran the risque of having his head broke for offering to doubt it. It was notorious, not above 30 of the enemy were found slain at the camp; and that the rest of the dead could neither fly into the air, nor dive into the earth. Where then was the remainder? To anticipate the question, lest any one should have effrontery enough to start it --- they were carried off by a flying enemy, who took to their heels to save their own lives; and yet were so anxious about their

their dead, as to carry them all along. Such manifest contradictions are we obliged to believe! 1755.

NAY, to excuse this favourite general, the blame of not following his advantage, has been thrown on Mr. Shirley, and attributed to his positive directions. Besides the absurdity of the accusation, that he could be accessory to an omission of this nature, it was absolutely impossible for him to know whether the enemy would at all risk an attack. Your Lordship will consider, the general was then at least 365 miles from the place of action, nor advised of it till nine days after it happened. But when he received the intelligence, so far from directing to the inactivity of a merely defensive conduct, that he dispatched repeated expresses to Mr. Johnson, urging him in the most pressing terms, to pursue the advantage already obtained; and if unable to proceed in person, to commit the charge of the troops to Major Gen. Lyman: or, if he found it impracticable to invest Crown Point that season, at least to make himself master, if possible, of the enemy's advanced post at Tinonderoge. --- But all was ineffectual: the laurel being already acquired, fortune was not again to be put to a desperate venture.

WE will now, if your Lordship pleases, return to Oswego, where General Shirley arrived the 21st of August, and take a view of the course of his proceedings in that quarter.

YOUR LORDSHIP may remember, that the troops marched from Schenectady, with scarce half the number

K

Shirley absurdly censured.

Gen. Johnson never had 14 days previous at any one time of the Defeat of Brink & at one time but 14 days of bread in Camp for his whole Army which was 14 more or 7 days after his proceedings with Gen. Shirley at Oswego.

1755. of battoemen, which contracted for the service; and these by frequent desertions gradually decreased. Hence the transportation of provisions, thro' this long tract of country, was so much impeded, that until the latter end of September it was impossible, upon that account, to move from Oswego.

THE general however had, in the mean time, made all the necessary preparations for the expedition to Niagara: and as the arrival of a large convoy with provisions was then hourly expected, he held a council of war at his camp on the 18th of September; at which were present

A council of war held there.

His Excellency the GENERAL.

Lieut. Col. Ellison,
Lieut. Col. Mercer,
Col. Schuyler,
Capt. Patten,
Major Littlehales,

Major Bradstreet, Adj. Gen.
Capt. Barford,
Capt. Broadley, Com. of the
vessels on the Lake.

The general represents the state of affairs, and informs the council of his intelligences.

THE general informed this council, that thro' the great desertion of battoemen, the scarcity of waggons on the Mohawk River, and the desertion of sledgemen at the Great Carrying-Place, the conveyance of provisions and other stores had been so much retarded, that there had not been at any time since his arrival, a sufficient quantity of dry provisions to enable him to go upon action: but as a large supply would probably very soon arrive, he was determined to proceed immediately. He thought proper to inform them of his intelligence concerning

concerning the situation and strength of the enemy --- 1755.
 which was to this purpose --- That before he left the
 Oneida Carrying-Place, two trusty Indians, with as many
 Albany traders, were sent as spies to Niagara; who, after
 fourteen days absence, returned with an account --- That
 the Indians had been two days in the French fort there,
 which was built partly of stone, but principally of logs,
 being in a weak and ruinous condition --- that the gar-
 rison consisted of about 60 French and 100 Indians, who
 said they had for some time expected 900 Indians and a
 quantity of stores from Canada; but were apprehensive
 their vessels were taken --- that letters came in frequently
 from Fort Du Quesne, whence also they expected a con-
 siderable reinforcement. The spies added, that the In-
 dians were disgusted at the division of the spoils, on the
 defeat of General Braddock, and that the French had
 lost 30 men in that engagement --- that they saw many
 English scalps, with a large quantity of cloaths and fur-
 niture --- that the French had there 70 or 80 large bat-
 toes, with which they intended to meet and board our
 vessels: and this article was confirmed by another In-
 dian, who set out after the spies, and meeting one of
 our row-gallies, cautioned the commander against a nearer
 approach to Niagara.

HIS EXCELLENCY also informed the council, that an
 Indian spy had been with the Outawawas, who assisted
 the French in the action at Monongahela --- that they
 had declared their inclination to lay down the hatchet;

1755. and that others more westerly gave the like intimations; which had induced him to dispatch four messengers with belts of wampum, to invite them into our alliance, or at least to engage their neutrality.

UPON the general's arrival at Oswego, he thought it necessary to procure intelligence from Frontenac; and for that purpose sent out a party of white men and Indians, who returned about the 8th of September, with information --- that they landed upon an island, about six furlongs from the fort, from whence they had a full view of it --- that it was built in a bay, near the edge of the water, and surrounded by a stone wall; the land behind it cleared, and rising in a gradual acclivity--- that two vessels, of about 40 tons each, lay moored in the harbour, unrigged, and without guns --- that at the east end of the fort there was a regular encampment, and six marquis tents; from the extent of which they imagined it contained about 3 or 400 men. --- Upon the side of the bay, opposite the fort, the land projected about half a mile: between this and the island they were upon was another little island, about three quarters of a mile from the fort, inhabited by about twenty Indian families. The spies added, that there were several other adjacent islands; but they discovered no battoes. His excellency farther acquainted the council, that an Indian who came to Oswego about the time of his arrival, and had left Frontenac nine days before, declared there were 30 French within the fort; a considerable quantity of powder, and many

many guns mounted on the surrounding wall, which was ^{1755.} about six feet thick; and the encampment without consisted of 600 soldiers. The information of Redhead, to the same effect, was also laid before the council, with the addition --- that there were two encampments, one of Canadians, and the other of regulars, in a hollow, indiscoverable from the island; and that he was told, by the commandant, of a much larger number of troops expected with the general, lately arrived from France; when they proposed to invest Oswego. Gen. Johnson's letter of the 11th of September, signifying, that his scouts informed him of the departure of 300 canoes to Frontenac, was also considered: and from these articles of intelligence --- the account of the arrival of the French troops. --- the suspension of all intercourse between Frontenac and Niagara --- and their lying still so long at the former; his excellency observed, it was not improbable their design might be to make a descent on Oswego, if the whole force proceeded on the expedition to Niagara, which was about 150 miles to the westward; and from whence, at that advanced season, they could not return in less than 30 days. That this was the more probable, as Oswego was of the greatest importance for securing the frontiers of the western colonies, maintaining the British dominion over the great lakes, and the country beyond the Apalachean mountains. He also took notice of the defenceless state of Oswego, which would render it necessary to leave a strong garrison there: that the number
of

1755. of effectives at that time in the three regiments and independent companies, including serjeants and corporals, amounted to 1376; and that the irregulars, who were Albany men and Indians, procured by his own emissaries, consisted only of 120. For the better security of the place, the general had ordered to be built, with all possible dispatch, a strong wooden fort, capable of mounting cannon, with picquets and a ditch, on a high point, commanding the old fort on the east side of the river. This he observed was already begun, and would soon be compleated: and that for the proposed enterprize, he had built and equipped a sloop and schooner of sixty tons each, two row-gallies, each of twenty tons, with eight whale-boats, each capable of carrying sixteen men. He then informed them of his intention to embark for Niagara, as soon as the expected convoy arrived, with 600 regulars, including gunners and matrosses, besides the Albany and Indian irregulars; one 18 pounder, four 12 pounders, a ten-inch mortar, a seven-inch hoyet, two royals, and five small swivel-hoyets, the vessels, whale-boats, and a competent number of battoes; leaving behind him 700 effectives, two 12 pounders, ten 6 pounders, six 3 pounders, and eight cohorns.

THE council, upon this representation, were unanimously of opinion, in answer to the several questions proposed, that the force intended for the Niagara expedition was sufficient: but with respect to Oswego, some imagined it would not be defensible: the majority, however,

ever, were of contrary sentiments. All agreed, that a feint upon Frontenac, while his excellency was gone to Niagara, was by no means adviseable. They univerſally concurred in opinion, that a fort ought to be erected on the weſt ſide of the old fort: and that it would be for his Maſteſty's ſervice to prepare materials for building one or more veſſels, larger than any of thoſe already upon the lake, capable of mounting ten 6 pounders, beſides ſwivels, two more row-gallies, and 100 good whale-boats.

IN conſequence of this advice, 600 regulars were draughted, the artillery and ordnance-ſtores ſhipped on board the ſloop Ontario, part of the proviſions on board the ſloop Oswego, and the reſidue was ready for the row-gallies, whale-boats, and battoes. While theſe preparations were making, the weather was extremely wet and tempeſtuous. The rains began to fall ſo heavily on the 18th of the month, that on the beſt choſen ground the tents of the ſoldiers were overwhelmed. As 400 of the troops muſt have gone in open battoes, it was impoſſible to paſs the lake with any ſafety, till the ſtorm abated; which was on the 26th of the month, when orders were immediately iſſued for the embarkation of the troops: but theſe could not be carried into execution. Tho' the rains ceaſed for a ſhort ſpace of time, the weſtern winds began to blow with redoubled fury; and were again ſucceeded by continual rains for thirteen days together. During this boiſterous weather, numbers fell ſick, whoſe tents were an inſufficient ſhelter: and the Indians, well acquainted

1755.

Preparations
to proceed
on the Nia-
gara expedi-
tion.

Which could
not be pro-
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ther.

1755. acquainted with the climate, went off, declaring the season too far advanced to admit of an expedition upon the lake.

Another council of war held, in which the general represents the unfavourable circumstances of affairs.

IN the midst of these difficulties another council, consisting of the same members who composed the last, was called on the 27th of September. The general acquainted them with the untoward state of affairs, and some of his latest advices. He observed as follows — That the preceding day, eight battoes were arrived, with 48 barrels of flour, and 13 of bread; so that there was then 14 days full allowance of those species of provisions for 2000, being the number then in his camp — That he thought it necessary to take with him 21,000 weight of bread and flour, which for 700 men, forty days, amounted only to three-fourths of the usual allowance — that, in such case, there would be left with the garrison only 8000 weight of bread and flour, at half allowance for only 12 days: but, by advices received from the Carrying-Place and Mohawk River, he had the greatest reason to expect such a quantity of provisions, in a few days, as would be a full supply for some months --- that a party of men, with two officers, in whale-boats, sent seven days before to Frontenac to discover the enemy's motions, were returned, with the following report --- That they went into the harbour, and saw the fort, which appeared to be a regular square faced with stone, having four embrasures in the front --- that the encampment consisted of above 100 tents — that two brigantines of about 40 tons each,

each, and a small sloop lying then at anchor, were rigged, and the sails of one of them bent : and a number of battoes lay near the walls of the fort. He communicated to them also a copy of the orders and instructions given to the French regulars sent thither ; which were taken from baron Dieskau, in the action at Lake George : whence it appeared, that ten companies of the Queen's battalion marched from Montreal to Cadaracqui, in two divisions, upon the first and second of August, together with 250 Canadians, exclusive of Indians : the number of men therefore at Frontenac, including the garrison, might amount to 1000 effectives, originally designed, as appeared from those papers, for an attack upon Oswego. He farther took notice of the departure of some of our Indians, and their unanimous opinion, that the attempt against Niagara could not succeed this season : on which account the remainder were resolved to return to their respective castles ; giving nevertheless the highest assurances of their willingness to join us in much greater numbers the ensuing spring --- that the Albany traders were of the same opinion, that the battoes, tho' well adapted for the navigation of small rivers, could not live on the lake in such tempestuous weather as had continued for a fortnight past --- that Lieut. Holland, who had resided there above three years, declared it was commonly windy and wet, with few fair days intervening, during the fall. --- That it was besides now impracticable for the vessels and battoes to sail in concert : and as the vessels and

1755.

1755. whale-boats would not contain all the supplies, there was the utmost danger of spoiling that part of the provisions and ammunition, which must be conveyed in the battoes; in consequence of which many of them might be cut off; it being more than probable, from the weakness of their fort, the enemy would attack them on the lake --- that from the returns of the director and surgeons of the hospital, the number of the sick amounted to about 300, exclusive of officers; which they imputed to the excessive rains, and want of barracks. His excellency informed them, he proposed the erection of barracks, and a strong redoubt on the hill, west of the old fort, before the winter was too far advanced.

Their opinion, and advice to lay aside the expedition, and strengthen Oswego.

THESE matters, my Lord, were attentively considered: and the council of war prayed leave to add to the general's representation --- That Major Bradstreet, since his residence there, was persuaded 1650 Canadians had passed by from Cadaracqui to Niagara, for the Ohio; a great part of whom, thro' scarcity of provisions, he conceived must then be upon their return to Canada; and that a considerable number of French traders go annually from Canada to Detroit, and other French settlements to the westward, who, at this season, are generally upon their return: --- that their passage home is by the way of Niagara, where, it is very probable, they and all the French will tarry, as long as their provisions admit, for the defence of so important a post. That there were then but few proper battoe-men at Oswego: nor could they be

be provided with a sufficient number, as those who understood the management of battoes were chiefly employed in the transportation of provisions from Schenectady to Oswego, and from Albany to Lake George; and that the soldiers were unable to conduct them to Niagara, the lake being turbulent generally five days in six. 1755.

THE advice of the council, my Lord, was unanimously to this effect --- That the arrival of the battoes with provisions, tho' hourly expected, was by no means to be depended upon, there being scalping-parties in the neighbourhood; one of which, since the last council of war, had actually killed three, and captivated two of the workmen employed in building the new fort on the east side of the river: and the cutting off the battoes was the more to be apprehended, as the Indians in our alliance were now returning to their castles. Nor did they think it adviseable to risk the troops in battoes upon the lake, at so advanced a season of the year. They approved his excellency's intention of raising barracks for the soldiers without delay; and thought the fort on the east side of the Onondaga River ought to be completed as soon as possible; and again advised the erection of a work for mounting cannon on the eminence west of the old fort --- all which, in their opinion, could not be effected before the winter was too far set in, without employing the whole strength then at the place. They were also unanimously and clearly of opinion, that his excellency ought to defer any attempt on Niagara or Frontenac, till

1755. the next spring; when they had great reason to expect the junction of a large body of the Six Nations, and some of the French allies, who had taken up the hatchet against the English, and were concerned on the banks of the Monongahela. Besides, he might, in the ensuing campaign, have a greater number of troops, whale-boats instead of battoes, and a more powerful naval force, which they conceived ought to be provided against the next spring.

Which was
carried into
execution.

THIS advice, my Lord, the general proceeded immediately to carry into execution. Compleating the fort on the east side of the river, was a matter of principal attention, because situated on a high point of land, at 100 yards distance from the lake, commanding the ground round about it --- the old fort at 450 yards distance --- and the entrance of the harbour. Its circumference was 800 feet, being built of logs from 20 to 30 inches diameter, and the outer wall 14 feet high. Round it was to be a ditch 14 feet broad and 10 deep. Within, a square log-house to overlook the walls, and barracks for 300 men. --- This fort, called Ontario, was to mount 16 pieces of cannon. Another, called Ofwego, was immediately begun, upon an eminence 450 yards west of the old fort. It was a square of 170 feet, with bastions, and a rampart of earth and masonry; which, besides the parapet, was to be 20 feet thick, 12 in height, with a ditch 14 feet broad and 10 deep. The barracks within were to contain 200 men. This was to mount

*The fort was never
thing more than
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never fit for that*

mount eight pieces of cannon ; being made the more ^{1755.} defensible, as it commanded a good landing, distant 150 yards on the edge from the lake.

WHILE these works were carrying on, the general employed himself in a necessary attention to Indian affairs. He laboured to establish some of the principal Onondagas, who were thro' negligence become wavering ; and dispatched messages to those who were gone from us, and settled at Oswegatic, and to the Messafagues and Chippawees on the north side of the Lake Ontario. Others were sent to foment the disaffection of the Outawawas, disgusted at the French partition of the plunder, on Braddock's defeat. With the Senecas, the remotest from our settlements of all the five cantons, and therefore the most debauched by the French, he succeeded so well, that they now dismissed Joncaire, one of their emissaries, whose father had been long suffered to reside among them, in spite of our repeated remonstrances ; and was the chief preserver of the fort at Niagara. They also engaged to meet him, the next campaign, with 100 of their warriors, and promised for the future to refuse the assistance they had formerly given the French, in transporting their furs, with horses and sleds, across the Niagara Carrying-Place — as necessary there, as at any of our portages between Schenectady and Oswego. When nothing further could be prosecuted, the general retired from Oswego the 24th of October, leaving 700 men in garrison, under the command of Lieut. Col. Mercer ; with

The general labours to establish the Indians in our interest.

And returns to Albany.

1755. with orders to continue the works projected for its defence.

HAVING, my Lord, taken up too much of your time in a circumstantial relation of the proceedings in this quarter, I shall not trouble you with any reflections upon them. Your Lordship has seen the insurmountable difficulties attending this western expedition; and will doubtless approve our not hazarding the loss of Oswego.

French designed to cut off Oswego, had the general proceeded to Niagara.

That such would have been the event, had Mr. Shirley left the place about the beginning of October, was wisely foreseen, from the advices he had received: and baron Dieskau, just after the action at Lake George, assured a gentleman of distinction in the army, he questioned not the English general would make himself master of Niagara; but that the French had half the forces he brought with him from Brest, with a number of Canadians and Indians, at Frontenac, ready, immediately on his departure, to invest Oswego, and cut off his retreat.

While the general was at Albany, after his return on the lake, forwarding the supplies for the garrison at Oswego; preparing for the operations of the next campaign, and examining into the state of the troops arrived there under Col. Dunbar; the city was alarmed by express from General Johnson, informing, that 8 or 9000 of the enemy were advancing towards him. Sir Charles Hardy, then at Albany, called in the militia: and a detachment of the regular troops, with a train of artillery, held themselves in readiness to march at a moment's

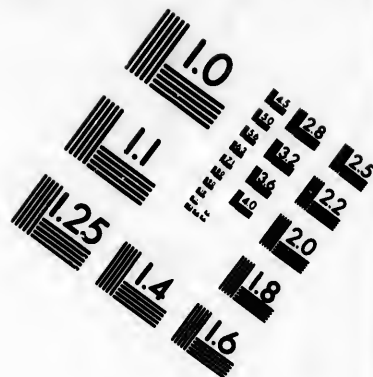
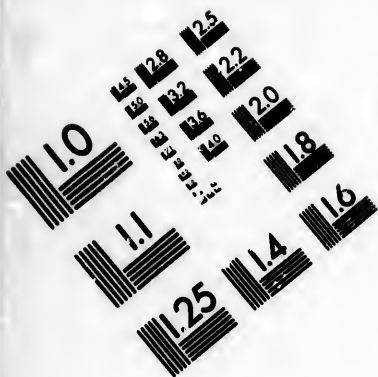
moment's

moment's warning. But another express gave reason to believe those apprehensions were ill-grounded, and General Johnson's fears in some measure abated. It seems a few Indian scouts had discovered the tracks of a large army; but Capt. Rogers, the brave officer before-mentioned, came into the camp soon after them, and declared, the enemy were employed, as the general had predicted in his letter to Mr. Johnson of the 19th of September, in throwing up works at Tinonderoge. Upon which, the militia were dismissed to their respective habitations. 1755.

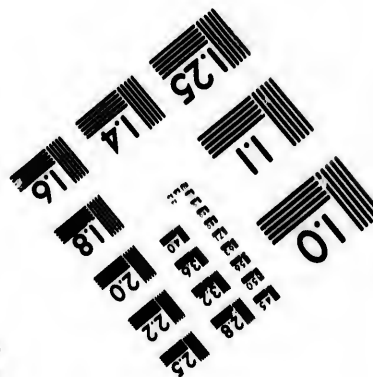
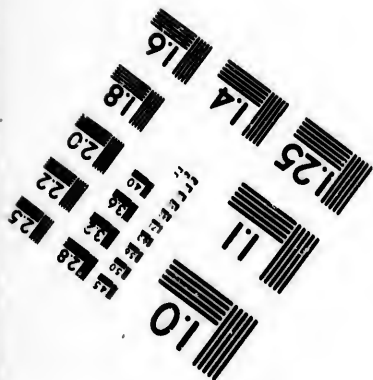
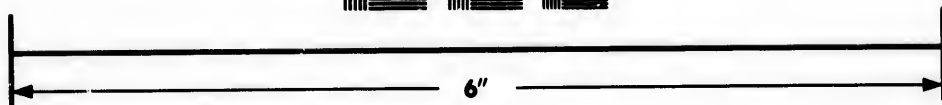
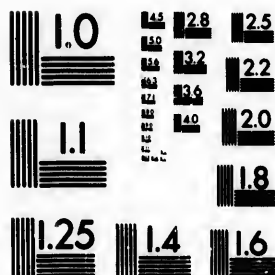
Of the malignity of the New York faction against the general, I have already acquainted your Lordship: permit me to present you with another instance of the same spirit. A mercenary scribbler, of whom I shall soon take more particular notice, is pleased to inform the public, that "Col. Dunbar with his forces, were obliged
 " six weeks to lie encamped at Albany, in the rain and
 " snow, till barracks were built for them. That they
 " were entirely obliged to Sir Charles Hardy, that they
 " got a stick of wood to burn. So (says he) were our
 " forces disposed of."

ALBANY, my Lord, is an old compact city, consisting of 3 or 400 well-built houses: and at about 16 miles N. W. from it, is the town of Schenectady, consisting of about 150 houses. The inhabitants are far from being indigent: the adjacent country abounds with provisions; and in such quarters, your Lordship is sensible, his Majesty's





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1755. *jefty's troops will not want necessaries ; especially fuel,*
 in a country covered with timber. Where then the probability, that the forces, which consisted of 1200, would suffer in a post like this? As to the affair of barracks, my Lord, there was a council held at New York, on the first of August, when the news arrived of Col. Dunbar's retiring into winter-quarters, after Braddock's defeat. It was composed of Mr. De Lancey the Lieut. Governor, Mess. Alexander, Kennedy, Murray, Holland, Chambers, and Smith ; and the opinion of that board then was, " That not only the King's forces to the southward, but " also those that could be spared from Nova Scotia, should " quarter near Albany, for any future operations." This resolve Mr. De Lancey transmitted to the general at Oswego ; and as Dunbar's troops were ordered to Albany, for the defence of that country, and particularly to make a stand, in case the provincials were defeated ; they had, methinks, the highest reason to expect favour from the inhabitants, and the special countenance of the government, even had they been quartered upon them as usual : and which at present is actually the case, by express orders of my Lord Loudon. The general, I say, had no reason to expect, upon this head, any opposition from the civil magistrate. But Sir Charles Hardy, on his arrival at Albany, about the 26th of September, signified to him by letter, his apprehensions of uneasiness arising among the inhabitants, should the soldiers be quartered upon private families ; and wished to have his excellency's orders

orders for building barracks, both there and at Schenectady; left his assembly should not chuse to put the province to that charge. He also expressed his hopes, if such an expence was saved them, of their greater readines to raise more men, should the service require it, the next campaign. The general's answer to this letter equally demonstrated his integrity to the crown, and concern for the troops. He intimated his fears, that the construction of barracks would be thought an extraordinary expence; but it being necessary for the service, that Dunbar's, and the regiment of the late Sir Peter Halket, should winter in Albany and Schenectady, he complied with Sir Charles's request; and desired him to provide barracks for those regiments with all possible diligence, that the troops, on their arrival in his government, might not find themselves destitute of quarters. To relieve the crown in the expence, he farther took notice to Sir Charles, of the request made by his own government for drawing these troops to Albany --- that they would in a special manner cover the frontier of New York --- be of service to Oswego in the ensuing spring --- and that the inhabitants would draw very large sums from their residence amongst them. Nor did he forget to recommend an imitation of the Massachusetts Bay; who thought it reasonable to erect barracks for his own regiment, tho' they knew their continuance among them would be short, destined as they were for the western expedition. But that there might be no delay in building the barracks, arising from any

1755. doubt of the expence being paid by the province of New York, Mr. Shirley informed Sir Charles, that if they would not, after these considerations, take that expence on themselves, he would defray it out of the contingent-money in the hands of the deputy pay-master. Thus, my Lord, if any ground for complaint of the want of barracks, Mr. Shirley 'tis clear was intirely unexcusable: and if the troops, as this libeller informs us, did suffer in their tents, --- I submit it to your Lordship, whose province it was to have found them better quarters. But the fact is, that the barracks were finished, and the troops quartered in them before the first of December, fuel provided for them sufficient for the winter, and all at the expence of the crown.

*by did not Mr Shirley
after his Troops in
barracks & the next day
has been of practice
& since till such
time as the Barracks
were fit to receive the
troops, this was not
one of the numbers
expence being every
way forward of proper
quarters, the snow
was very deep on
the ground when the
troops quitted their
campment.*

THE winter now approaching, commissioners were appointed by the governments concerned in the Crown Point expedition, to ascertain their respective quotas for garrisoning the forts *Edward* and *William-Henry*, and disbanded the rest of the army. After this was compleated, the general and Sir Charles Hardy returned to New York; where the former convened a grand congress of governors and field officers, to deliberate on a plan for the operations of the succeeding campaign. But before I enter upon their transactions, I shall briefly lay before your Lordship those between Sir Charles Hardy and his assembly; which was opened on the second, and continued sitting till the 23d of December.

I HAVE already observed, that the ministry, from the time of Mr. Clinton's departure in 1753, had been solicitous about procuring the consent of our assembly to a law establishing a permanent provision for the governor, and other necessary officers. When Sir Danvers Osborne arrived, he brought with him an instruction for that purpose; from the terms of which it was apparent that the ministry had it much at heart; and Sir Danvers, before he left England, was made to believe that Mr. De Lancey, by means of his great popularity, would enable him to carry it into execution. This I had from a gentleman, to whom Sir Danvers opened himself, and whom he consulted before his embarkation for his government. The gentleman is a person of the first figure in these colonies; and being acquainted with the system of politicks in New York, he informed Sir Danvers, that those promises were by no means to be depended upon: that Mr. De Lancey was inexpressibly jealous of his ascendancy over the assembly, who were utterly disinclined to a perpetual support: that he would join in no measures that might weaken the confidence they reposed in him: that as long as he maintained his influence in their counsels, he would virtually be the governor of the province; and therefore upon the whole, his interest and ambition would infallibly lead him to keep every governor in a state of dependence upon him. Sir Danvers disliked so disagreeable a prediction; and many are of opinion, that its accomplishment hastened his unhappy

1755.
 Transactions in New York between Sir Charles Hardy and his assembly.

1755. fate. Excuse me, my Lord, for troubling you with a relation of facts, a little out of the strict order of time.

Anecdote of
Sir Danvers
Osborne.

There is an anecdote of Sir Danvers, of which I would not have your Lordship uninformed. He arrived here on the 7th of October, 1753, under very discouraging apprehensions of the people; and indeed not without reason, the opposition against Mr. Clinton having been carried beyond all decorum. Governor Osborne's commission, thro' Mr. Clinton's absence, remained unpublished till the third day after his arrival. This is usually done, first privately in the council-chamber; and immediately after, in the most public manner at the city-hall. To wait on his excellency thither, Mr. Clinton came abroad; an astonishing crowd being assembled at the Fort Gate, to attend the procession. Mr. Clinton's enemies were very assiduous in exciting the popular acclamations; and the huzzas of the mob were scarce intermitted for a moment. There appeared, in short, such a profusion of joy, accompanied with some indecent expressions respecting himself, as gave Mr. Clinton just reason to suspect more open indignities. He therefore soon took his leave of Sir Danvers, who expressed his displeasure at the conduct of his enemies. This, my Lord, proved a day of general festivity and Bacchanalian frolic. In the evening, the city was illuminated: the common blazed with bonfires: great was the consumption of Madeira; and every company rung with maledictions against the late commander in chief, who was charged as the sole procurer of the new instruction;

instruction; an account of which could only have transpired from some of the council. Sir Danvers alone appeared unaffected with our intemperate revels; and on his countenance sat a melancholy gloom. He convened the council on Thursday the eleventh of the month; and prayed their sentiments on the probability of obtaining a permanent support, according to his instructions. That the point was unattainable, they all delivered as their unanimous opinion. He then required the solution of the same question from each member severally; and still from each received the same reply. Upon this, he turned himself about in apparent distress, uttered a deep sigh, and reclining his head against a window, in a desponding accent said, "What then am I come hither for?" The next morning --- But I desist. This instruction, as your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, remained unrevoked all the time of his successor: and 'tis natural to expect, that the people of this province were very inquisitive whether it was continued to Governor Hardy --- They were so. But Sir Charles did not follow the example of Mr. De Lancey, in laying his instructions before the assembly. The article relative to the support has undergone, as I am credibly informed, very few alterations, and those only in the preamble. That it was in substance the same, is evident from his speech to the house, on the 3d of December, at the opening of that session. His words are these: "I am commanded by his Majesty to recommend in his name without delay, to consider

1755.

Sir Charles
Hardy's
speech to his
assembly.
of

1755. “ of a proper law to be passed, for settling a permanent
 “ revenue upon a solid foundation, for defraying the ne-
 “ cessary and established charges of government; taking
 “ care that such law be indefinite, without limitation of
 “ time; and that provision be made therein for a com-
 “ petent salary to the captain-general and governor in
 “ chief of this his Majesty’s province; and likewise for
 “ competent salaries to all judges, justices, and other ne-
 “ cessary and usual officers and ministers of government:
 “ and also for a certain permanent fund, for repairing
 “ and maintaining the fortifications, for making annual
 “ presents to the Indians, and for the other contingent
 “ expences attending that service: and in general, for all
 “ such other charges of government, as may be fixed or
 “ ascertained.” The assembly in their address, after a
 justly-merited compliment, for his activity in proceeding
 to Albany, and their approbation of the measures for gar-
 risoning the frontiers, subjoin this emollient paragraph:
 “ We wish we could, with equal satisfaction, reconcile
 “ to ourselves your excellency’s recommendation of an
 “ indefinite support: but humbly beg leave to inform
 “ your excellency, that we have no permanent funds, on
 “ which to establish such a revenue; nor do any occur
 “ to us, without very apparent inconveniencies to our con-
 “ stituents. We therefore most humbly hope we shall
 “ stand acquitted in the eyes of our most gracious So-
 “ vereign, if we decline a measure so directly opposite to
 “ the sentiments of almost every individual of the colony.
 “ We

Their an-
 swer.

“ We cannot leave this subject, without disclosing to your
 “ excellency the concern it gives us, that this his Majesty’s 1755.
 “ loyal colony, which, tho’ small in numbers, has cheer-
 “ fully bore very heavy expences, and particularly sup-
 “ ported its governors, and other officers of government,
 “ in a more liberal manner than most others on the con-
 “ tinent, should be requested to pursue measures hitherto
 “ unknown to it, whilst the rest, almost without excep-
 “ tion, are left to practise the very measures denied to
 “ us.”

MR. CLINTON, my Lord, asked of this same assembly Their behav-
 iour differ-
 ent from
 what it was
 in Clinton’s
 time, and the
 reason.
 only a support for five years ; and it was refused with in-
 dignation and virulence. Sir Charles here demands much
 more ; and we see, that he is answered with the most
 commendable decency. To help your Lordship in ac-
 counting for this contradictory behaviour --- Mr. De Lan-
 cej was bent upon expelling that governor from the pro-
 vince : and to gain his point, continually fomented the
 quarrel he himself excited. But Sir Charles was to be
 treated in a different manner, and measures more lenient
 were to be pursued. An ascendancy over him would en-
 sure to his lieutenant many advantages ; and enable him
 to procure the governor’s assent to a bill, for paying him
 a large sum, now due for his salary and other perquisites,
 while he had the chief command. He might indeed,
 but durst not pass such a bill himself, and therefore it was
 not offered. Accordingly, the house, at their very next
 meeting, sent up a bill to the council, on the 4th of Fe-
 bruary,

1755. bruary 1756, for paying the debts of the government; in which he was a creditor for near 4000 l. But of this I shall have occasion to take more particular notice. Thus, my Lord, I will forfeit my honour, if, upon a faithful perusal of the journals of assembly, your Lordship doth not find --- the conduct of the house, and the interest of Mr. De Lancey, for ten or fifteen years past, perfectly to tally.

Grand council of war convened at New York for settling the operations for 1756.

LET us now take a view of the transactions in the grand council of war, which the general had convened at New York, for settling a plan of the future operations. It was opened on the 12th of December, and continued sitting for the space of two days. Tho' the invitation to the governors was universal, it consisted only of these members:

His Excellency General Shirley, commander in chief of all his Majesty's forces in North America:

His Excellency Sir Charles Hardy, Knight, governor and commander in chief of the province of New York:

The Honourable Horatio Sharpe, lieut. governor and commander in chief of the province of Maryland:

The Honourable Robert Hunter Morris, lieut. governor and commander in chief of the province of Pennsylvania:

The Honourable Thomas Fitch, governor and commander in chief of the colony of Connecticut.

Col. Thomas Dunbar:

Col. Peter Schuyler:

Major Charles Craven:

Sir John St. Clair, deputy quarter-master general:

Major John Rutherford.

After

After adjusting several points of rank, the members took ^{1755.} their seats in the order mentioned; and the general opened the conference, by laying before the council the King's instructions to General Braddock. He then delivered his sentiments to the board, to the following purpose: "That our only entrance into Lake Ontario, was thro' the Onondaga River to Oswego. No other harbour had his Majesty upon that lake, capable of receiving vessels of force: That Oswego was situate in the country of the Onondagas, the centre canton of the Six Nations, and famous for the furr trade: no other mart could we boast, for commerce or correspondence with those numerous tribes of savages inhabiting the western country, on the banks of the great lakes Erie, Huron, Michigan, and the many rivers which roll into them: That the Lake Ontario was only accessible to the Canadians, thro' the river Cadaracqui, formerly called by the French Fleuve Iroquois; but in their late maps, calculated to countenance their exorbitant claims, distinguished by the name of St. Lawrence. At the head of that river was their entrance into that lake; and near Fort Frontenac, situated on its north-eastern edge, about 50 miles from, and nearly opposite to, our fort at Oswego: That while the enemy kept possession of Frontenac, with the harbour at Fronto, and a free passage thro' the Iroquois River, they would always be able to build and maintain vessels of force upon the lake: That his Majesty would there-

The general delivers his sentiments to the council;

1755. “ fore be necessitated to support a naval armament there,
 “ at least equal to that of the French. Without this,
 “ they might annoy any forts we could erect at the north-
 “ east end of the pass at Niagara; and Oswego itself be lost.
 “ The inevitable consequence of which would be, the de-
 “ fection of the Six Nations, the loss of the whole country
 “ for near 300 miles from Oswego to Schenectady, and
 “ perhaps the reduction of Albany itself.” The general add-
 ed, “ That all the French forts at Niagara, upon the lake
 “ Erie, and the river Ohio, those also upon lake Huron, at
 “ the Streights of Missilimakinac, and the Lake Michigan
 “ still more westerly, received all their supplies by water-
 “ carriage from Montreal, thro’ the River Iroquois, and
 “ the Lake Ontario: That the French settlements at the
 “ mouth of the Mississippi furnished these northern gar-
 “ risons neither with provisions nor stores; being not only
 “ at 2000 miles distance from any of them, but embar-
 “ rassed with insuperable difficulties, by a laborious na-
 “ vigation against a rapid stream.” Hence his excel-
 “ lency concluded, “ That could the French be dislodged
 “ from Frontenac and the little fort at Fronto, and their
 “ entrance into Lake Ontario obstructed, all their other
 “ forts and settlements on the Ohio, and the western
 “ lakes, were deprived of their support from Canada, and
 “ must ere long be evacuated.”

and proposes
 his plan of
 operations:

IMPRESSED, my Lord, with these views, the general
 proposed, as a plan of operations for the next year —
 That 5000 men should be very early assembled at Oswego,
 and

and 4000 of them sent to attack Frontenac and La Gal-
 lette; which being reduced, an attempt should be made ^{1755.}
 upon the forts at Niagara, Presque Isle, Riviere au Beuf,
 Detroit, and Missilimakinac: and that in the mean time,
 3000 provincial troops should march from Will's Creek,
 for the reduction of Fort Du Quesne: That a body of
 1000 should proceed to Crown Point, build a fort there,
 and launch one or more vessels into Lake Champlain:
 And that the force of Canada might be farther divided,
 he proposed, that 2000 men should carry fire and sword
 up Kennebec River, fall upon the settlements adjoining to
 the River Chandiere, and proceed to its mouth, three
 miles distant from Quebec; and by dividing themselves in
 small parties along the banks of the river St. Lawrence,
 and destroying the scattered settlements there, keep that
 part of Canada in continual alarms.

HE then observed, that if the several attempts upon
 Crown Point, the forts upon the lakes, and the Ohio,
 were not prosecuted at the same time, very perilous might
 be the consequences: That if in particular, while Fron-
 tenac and Niagara were attacked, no attempt was made
 against Crown Point, the whole force of Canada would
 march to oppose us; which would defeat the design, and
 require so large a body of troops, as to render the trans-
 portation of necessaries to Oswego impracticable. So nu-
 merous an army might also march against Albany, as
 effectually to cut off the retreat of our forces, or at least
 totally obstruct their supplies: That should, on the con-

1755. trary, our whole strength be destined for Crown Point; and the western operations neglected; Oswego, the grand object of the French, was in the utmost danger of falling into their hands. A loss irreparable and beyond estimation — The loss of the whole country down to Albany, with that of the Six confederate Nations; and to the French the acquisition of an absolute dominion on the lakes, and the whole southern country.

HIS EXCELLENCY finished, with informing the council of his late intelligence --- That the French were building three large vessels, of superior force to ours, in the harbour of Frontenac: and upon the whole prayed their advice.

Which was approved, with some little alterations,

A PLAN so well digested, and so clearly stated, required but little consideration; and accordingly it was in the main unanimously approved. The council advised the general, to give orders for building three or more vessels at Oswego. They were of opinion, that 10,000 men were necessary for the Crown Point expedition, and 6000 for that on Lake Ontario. The attempt against Fort Duquesne, by the western governments, 'twas thought would answer very good purposes, especially in securing the fidelity of the western Indians. The feint against Quebec was approved, if it interfered not with the other expeditions. The operations on Lake Ontario, they conceived ought to begin with the attack on Frontenac --- and upon the whole, were of opinion --- that an additional number of regular troops would be necessary for effectually recovering

covering and securing his Majesty's rights and dominions 1755.
on the continent.

THE council having finished their business, the govern-
ors soon after returned to their respective provinces. But
the general continued his head quarters at New York,
till the 21st of January, to prosecute an expedition against
'Tinonderoge, this winter : and as the French garrison was
left very weak, it had doubtless succeeded, had not the
want of frost and snow prevented the transportation of
the stores. Before he left New York, he had a fresh in-
stance of the unwearied and ill-natured industry of his
opposers ; of which, because important in its consequences,
I shall give your Lordship an ample detail. The prin-
cipal agents were Mess. De Lancey and Pownal, who now
formed a kind of duumvirate, to perplex the service, in
order to ruin the general. Without question, my Lord,
you are as much surprized, after what has already been
said concerning these gentlemen, to find Mr. Pownal
among the general's enemies, as you would have been had
I told you that Mr. De Lancey was not. I am sensible,
that a person of your Lordship's high sense of honour,
will recollect Mr. Shirley's favours to him at Boston ; and
think it incredible to find him in the catalogue of those
combined against his benefactor. But it is a shining re-
mark of Tacitus *, " That benefits are only so far
" acceptable, as it seems possible to discharge them ;

Design a-
gainst Tinon-
deroge in the
winter de-
feated.

*or rather the wa-
rre of Tinon-
deroge which
neglected to be
in the Fall*

The cabal
against the
general
strengthen-
ed, and by
what causes..

* Beneficia eo usque laeta sunt, dum videntur exsolvi posse : ubi multum anteverere,
pro gratia odium redditur.

“ and

1755. " and that when they have exceeded all retaliation, hatred is returned for gratitude." Mr. Pownal, who was ambitious of recommending himself to a certain noble Lord in England, by furnishing him with American intelligence, could by no means brook his being absent from the congress at Alexandria, in the spring of the present year. He earnestly sought an introduction to General Braddock; and Mr. Shirley did the office with great politeness. He was then just informed of his appointment to be lieut. governor of New Jersey, and on that account pressed for an admission into the council. Mr. Shirley, in a very genteel manner, declined a task, which might give offence to the general; and if any resolution transpired, draw himself into a snare. But Mr. Pownal, being a stranger to that diffidence and modesty, so suitable to his years and inexperience, became from this moment disgusted, and was seldom after seen amongst that gentleman's friends. He tarried at Philadelphia, till General Braddock's defeat: and towards autumn returned to New York. This change of temper recommended him to Mr. De Lancey, who failed not to exasperate the rising resentment: and now his opposition became open and unreserved. Just at this juncture, arrived Sir Charles Hardy; and Mr. Shirley being then at Oswego, your Lordship sees how seasonable their opportunity, for sowing the seeds of prejudice in the breast of the new governor. I will not take upon me to speak of their success; but doubtless no misrepresentations were wanting to strengthen

strength the cabal. Yet no sooner did the general arrive ^{1755.} from Oswego at Albany, where Mess. Pownal and De Lancey attended upon Sir Charles, than the former, dissembling his enmity, laboured to procure his confidence, that he might pry into his secrets: but from previous intimations of his present disposition, in a letter to a gentleman then near the general, he failed in that insidious design. He could now no longer suppress his malevolence, or conceal his recent connections; and therefore openly traduced the very man, to whom he was indebted for all his significancy amongst the provinces. My Lord, it is with reluctance I utter these things. But your Lordship is as determined to know every transaction which concerns the operations in America, as I am to discharge the office of a faithful historian. Truth is too sacred to be violated either out of fear or favour; and whatever your Lordship may think of this gentleman, such was his conduct. I knew him an avowed enemy to Mr. De Lancey, and to Mr. Shirley as sanguine a friend. I have since known him to calumniate the latter, and applaud the former. With a change of residence, or rather of interest, he changes sides; and on this account, no man perhaps ever multiplied so many adversaries in so short a time. He aims at two governments, without the least prospect of peace, if either of them should fall under his command. I can assure your Lordship, that even in the province of New Jersey he is so little esteemed, and that principally for intriguing the disbandment of the regiment
under

1755. under Col. Schuyler, to disoblige Mr. Shirley, that upon his return to England in February 1756, he was unable to procure a vote of assembly, desiring his assistance of their agent at the Court of Great Britain; tho' he pushed it with an earnestness that would have cost most men a blush of confusion.

DETERMINED to embarrass the general, nothing could have been more agreeable to Mr. Pownal and the lieutenant-governor of New York, than an admission into the late council of war. To a seat at that board neither of them had the least pretension; and yet both were highly displeased at not being invited. Mr. Pownal, who has often distinguished himself for pushing a bold point, repaired to New Jersey, and importuned Governor Belcher, unable, on account of his age, to attend the congress in person, to depute him in his stead. His excellency very wisely answered, that the invitation he had received from the general, was merely a personal compliment: nor could he, with the least decency, insist upon an appearance by proxy. His lieutenant, impatient of a denial, called in a menacing tone for pen, ink, and paper, thinking to operate on the infirmities of age by commination and outrage. The council were astonished at this indecent attack upon an antient and faithful servant of the Crown, and withheld their advice. But the governor, conscious of the propriety of his refusal, firmly adhered to his first resolution; and Mr. Pownal abruptly quitting the board, returned with disappointment to New York.

Mr. Pownal's
behaviour to
the governor
of New Jer-
sey.

THIS gentleman, my Lord, became acquainted at Philadelphia with one Evans, who, for a * valuable consideration, dedicated to him his map of the middle British colonies, with an encomium, that he esteemed him *the best judge of it in America*. This man having, in the public streets of Philadelphia, not only presumed to accuse Governor Morris of high treason, but to asperse two of his Majesty's ministers as pensioners to France, fled from justice there, and took sanctuary in New York. Mr. Morris however commenced an action against him in this province, more for his own vindication, than a reparation of damages; which the poor fellow would never have been able to make. Upon this he was committed to Gaol, till Mr. Oliver De Lancey so far befriended him, as to become his security. These were his circumstances, when he published a pamphlet full of invectives against General Shirley. I will not affirm, that he wrote

1755.

He procures one Evans to publish invectives against the general.

* Among other gentlemen of distinction in the colonies, Mr. Pownal became acquainted with Mr. Alexander, of New York; a person of a friendly disposition and easy access. Mr. Alexander had now the surveyor general's office of New Jersey; and Mr. Pownal, to procure the fulsome dedication from Evans, promised him that office, upon his accession to the government. This, Evans frequently declared in his last illness to one of his most intimate friends; who concealed it till after his death. Such an anecdote will scarcely be credited by those unacquainted with Mr. Pownal's insatiable ambition to rise in America. There was another instance of his conduct equally surprising. While this gentleman was at New York, discharging his embassy from Boston in the spring 1755, he had the loan of a map of the country from Crown Point to Montreal; which was composed by William Alexander, Esq; a gentleman well skilled in the geography of America. Mr. Pownal, who had occasion to lay this chart before the assembly of New York, having erased the name of its author, very modestly inserted his own. And tho' his plagiarism was detected at the time, he neglected to return it; and afterwards produced the same map before the ministry, claiming to himself the honour due to Mr. Alexander alone.

O

it

1755. it at the instance of the cabal in New York. I leave your Lordship to judge how far they were concerned in it, after adding, that it contained their repeated remarks; that Mr. Pownal was frequently at his lodgings about the time of its publication; and did actually accompany him to a printer, to hasten the impression, before he sailed for * England. I shall not trouble your Lordship with any particular observations upon this libel. If ever it should fall into your Lordship's hands, this letter will assist you in detecting its falsehoods, and forming a proper judgment both of its author and his abettors.

Great pains
taken to pre-
judice Mr.
Shirley both
in England
and America.

THUS, my Lord, was every opportunity embraced by the cabal to prejudice the general in the opinion of the people: and happy for the colonies, had their misrepresentations been confined to this side the Atlantic! Bent on Mr. Shirley's removal, all imaginable pains were taken to defame his character. Here, they questioned his integrity. But in England, they endeavoured to create a suspicion of his judgment. General Johnson was set up as his competitor; and to his renown were blown all the trumpets of fame. Shirley's deep sense of the importance of Oswego, was made the object of buffoonry and ridicule. The reduction of Crown Point represented as a

* Upon the news of the loss of Oswego, part of it was republished in the New York Gazette, to lead the populace to impute this calamity to General Shirley. It was appealed to, as an indisputable authority, by the very persons to whom poor Evans was indebted for his materials; and without whose dictating, it would never have seen the light. To write a book in another's name, and then to quote it as an authority, is a species of proof, with which Euclid appears to have been utterly unacquainted.

matter:

matter of superior moment. Three hundred men Mr. De Lancey often declared to be a sufficient garrison for Oswego. The general was therefore charged with squandering the King's money, in making it the main object of his attention: and out of mere opposition, a scheme was recommended for turning our whole force toward Crown Point. Upon this errand, my Lord, Mr. Pownal went home in February 1756. I need not inform your Lordship of the success of the faction. The sequel will shew with what consequences it was attended. Thus ended the year 1755. A year never to be forgotten in America. It opened with the fairest prospects to these distant dispersions of the British Empire. Four armies were on foot, to remove the encroachments of a perfidious neighbour; and our coasts honoured with a fleet for their security, under the command of the brave and vigilant Boscawen. We had every thing to expect --- nothing to fear. The enemy was despised; and we only desired a proclamation of war, for the final destruction of the whole country of New France. But, my Lord, how unlooked for was the event! General Winslow indeed succeeded in Nova Scotia: but Braddock was defeated --- Niagara and Crown Point remained unreduced --- the Barbarians were let loose from the wilderness --- many thousand farms abandoned --- the King's subjects inhumanly butchered, or reduced to beggary --- one of the * provinces rent by intestine broils --- in another,

1755.

Reflections
on the fruit-
less opera-
tions of
1755.

Monkton

* Pennsylvania.

1755. a potent faction laying the foundation for new disasters, in the course of the ensuing year.

The importance of the New England colonies in military matters.

THE New England colonies, my Lord, take the lead in all military matters. Your Lordship is too well acquainted with history, not to know, they chiefly owed their origin to the disputes which involved the nation in all the calamities of a civil war. The first planters encountered innumerable difficulties, and were long engaged in repeated wars with the Indian natives. Their descendants retain the martial prowess and spirit of their ancestors: and for wisdom, loyalty, and an enterprising genius, are a people of renown. In these governments lies the main strength of the British interest upon this continent. Besides their above advantageous character, they are very considerable for their numbers. The Massachusetts Bay contains about 40,000 capable of arms. The militia of Connecticut is about 27,000. Rhode Island and New Hampshire are not so populous. His Majesty's service therefore rendered it necessary for the general, according to the plan of operations, to visit his own government, in order to solicit the succours; without which the expedition proposed against Crown Point

Shirley obliged to visit his own government.

1756. must inevitably have failed. For this purpose he set out from New York on the 21st of January: and, but for his presence and solicitations at Boston, no provincial troops would this year have entered the field. -- That colony was so extremely disobliged at the conduct of General Johnson, in neglecting to pursue his advantages,

after the memorable rout of the French at Lake George, 1756. as to be in general averse to a new campaign: and with the utmost difficulty did the general procure their concurrence in another expensive attempt. --- There let us at present leave him, promoting the public service of the colonies: and returning again to New York --- suffer me, at this inactive season of the year, to entertain your Lordship with one or two instances of Lieut. Governor De Lancey's more private political feats.

And with difficulty obtains their concurrence in another expedition.

NEVER was any man more impolitic than Governor Clinton. Had he kept the chief justice dependent on his favour, he would have governed his province with ease and tranquility: but by granting him a new commission for his office, *during good behaviour*, he set him at liberty to act at pleasure: and in consequence of this fatal error, the province was thrown into violent convulsions. Nothing therefore, my Lord, could be more desirable to his successor, than to hold that gentleman under proper restraint. Sir Charles Hardy had this advantage: his office of chief justice, I am informed, became extinguished the moment the government devolved upon him by the death of Sir Danvers Osborne. From the time of Sir Charles Hardy's arrival, Mr. De Lancey had impatiently expected a new commission: but the governor neglecting the offer, to the astonishment of most in the province, he notwithstanding ventured to resume his seat on the bench in January term; when two felons were arraigned before him. This bold stroke at the prerogative, most men imagined would

Lieut. Gov. De Lancey resumes his seat on the bench, tho' his office of chief justice was become extinct.

1756. would have drawn down the resentment of the new governor: and why it was passed by without observation, I must leave to your Lordship's conjectures. That De Lancey had, in reality, no right to the exercise of that office, has been strongly insisted upon by gentlemen of the law, tho' in an extrajudicial manner. I pretend not myself to any knowlege in that intricate science; but beg leave to present your Lordship with an opinion, relating to the point, contained in the following letter from a gentleman of the profession to his friend in this city; with a copy of which I have been favoured --

Philad. 21 Oct. 1755.

“ S I R,

The opinion
of a gentle-
man of the
law with re-
spect to it.

“ You say you're informed, that your lieut. governor
“ designs to exercise his former office, in virtue of the
“ commission issued by your late governor Clinton. I
“ can't think your information well grounded; because I
“ am clearly of opinion, that office was extinguished by
“ his acceptance of the lieut. governor's commission: and
“ I conceive Mr. De Lancey will hardly venture to dis-
“ pute the matter with the crown. The main reason I
“ go upon is, that those two offices are incompatible. To
“ make this plain to you, you must understand --- that
“ to every office there are duties annexed. The same
“ person cannot exercise two offices, inconsistent with one
“ another. One of them must therefore be lost; because
“ as every office is *pro bono publico*, its use lies in the
“ exercise of it: and the inferior office is that which is
“ lost;

“ lost ; because it is most for the public good, that the 1756.
 “ officer should hold the superior office ; as the law pre-
 “ sumes every man capable of the office, which the King,
 “ who is the fountain of offices and honour, is pleased
 “ to confer upon him. Agreeable to this, we find
 “ many resolutions in our books: I’ll mention one or
 “ two --- A man cannot be forester and judge *eo in-*
 “ *stanti*. Rolls Rep. 452, &c. --- Nor judge of the Com.
 “ and King’s Bench *simul* & *semel*. Dyer’s Case. 4 & 5
 “ Phil. & Mar. The first patent is *determined*, tho’ the
 “ second was granted *pro illa vice*, and surrendered the
 “ next day. Br. N C. 5 Mar. Br. Commissions pl. 25.

“ NOTHING now remains but to shew, that the office of
 “ chief justice and governor of your province are incon-
 “ sistent. To explain this, I must inform you, that your
 “ supreme court is a court of general jurisdiction, esta-
 “ blished by an ordinance of governor and council; claim-
 “ ing the like power here in all pleas civil and criminal,
 “ as fully as they are taken cognizance of by the King’s
 “ Bench and Common Pleas in England. Superior to
 “ this, is the Court of Governor and Council --- a court,
 “ instituted by one of his Majesty’s instructions to your
 “ governor. In virtue of this instruction, writs of error
 “ are returned from the supreme court, before the gover-
 “ nor and council. The inconsistency then of the two
 “ offices becomes very apparent. By the instruction, the
 “ governor in the court above is a *fine quo non*; and to
 “ suppose him at the same time judge in the court be-
 “ low,

1756. “ low, and must disregard the absurdity of the gover-
 “ nor’s sending a writ to command himself; and of his
 “ justifying his judgment as chief justice to himself in
 “ council as governor: and yet be excluded from a voice
 “ in the judgment above; which nevertheless cannot be
 “ given without him. You see then the incompatibility
 “ is much stronger, than if a man should be judge both
 “ of the King’s and Common Bench in England. There
 “ the other judges of B. R. might correct the error in
 “ the Common Pleas — but here the course of public
 “ justice might be intirely stopped.

“ If it should be said, his power was only suspended,
 “ while in the chair of government; I answer with the
 “ observation before --- that an office is a *duty*, as the
 “ very word itself implies: and I know of no sleeping
 “ and not-to-be-exercised office. Every office is insti-
 “ tuted for the public good: the officer is therefore
 “ obliged to exercise his duty; for, without that, he
 “ cannot serve the public --- and to be *obliged to act*,
 “ and at the same time *obliged not to act*, is nonsense. It
 “ would be more specious to say, the instruction is no
 “ law; as your assemblies have often said in other cases;
 “ but then, Sir, Mr. De Lancey, in obedience to it, has
 “ declined acting as judge, ever since the death of Sir
 “ D. Osborne: and why has he (as I have been in-
 “ formed) rejected a writ of error, because, according to
 “ this very instruction, the damages in demand did not
 “ exceed 300 l. sterling? Besides this court of Governor
 “ and

“ and council, I am told, has long exercised its power, 1756.
 “ under this and former instructions to your governors,
 “ of the like tenor, without the least opposition.

“ The offices will further appear to be inconsistent,
 “ if you reflect — that as governor he is also chancellor.
 “ The Court of Chancery often restrains the power of
 “ the law courts: and it is the spirit of every court to
 “ enlarge its own jurisdiction. Upon both these accounts,
 “ the two offices must inevitably clash. I know that
 “ Knevet was formerly chief justice and chancellor: but
 “ the propriety of that double investiture was never so-
 “ lemnly considered. It was long ago, in the time
 “ of Edw. III. There has been no instance of the like
 “ in later times; nor do I believe it would be suffered.
 “ But the case is much stronger here — and I can't con-
 “ ceive, for the reasons above, that your lieut. governor
 “ will attempt to sit as judge, by virtue of his old com-
 “ mission. It is more probable, he will prevail on your
 “ governor, lately arrived, to grant him a new patent.

I am,” &c.

PERHAPS, my Lord, no higher evidence can be assigned of a man's influence, than such a bold invasion of his Majesty's prerogative. Mr. De Lancey was determined not to lose an office, which he knew to be the grand source of his popularity, and the main prop of his power. For, whoever is chief justice of the province, unless a very novice, must be the second man in the government. Governor Hardy made no opposition to this large stride of

P

ambition:

1756. ambition: and the other not long after, by his wonderful artifice, subjected him to his absolute dominion. It was effected in the following manner --- Your Lordship will be pleased to recollect, that Mr. De Lancey had the address to prevail upon the assembly to send up a bill to the council, on the 4th of February, intituled, "An Act for the Payment of the Debts due from this Colony; and other Purposes therein mentioned." By this, payments were to be made to many creditors of the government, *for services done this colony*, without specifying what those services were. The lieut. governor was to receive 3787 l. 16 s. and several other sums were payable to his brother. It was in reality a bill for discharging the arrears due to the ordinary officers of the government. To render it the more palatable to the governor, provision was made for paying him also large sums for presents to the Indians, and the expences of his voyage to Albany, after the French repulse at Lake George. When it came up to the council, it obtained a majority only by one voice: and of these, my Lord, two gentlemen, besides lieut. gov. De Lancey, were themselves interested in the bill. They were the puisne judges of the supreme court, Mess. Horsemanden and Chambers, whose arrears of salary were now by the act to be discharged. Mess. Colden, Alexander, and Smith looked upon it, as a mean invasion of the King's instructions, which, until they resigned their seats at the council board, they were bound in honour to regard with sacred punctuality. --- It was besides evidently partial;

De Lancey obliges the governor to pass two acts of assembly.

partial; no provision being made for other creditors, whose demands were indisputable. They also conceived it derogatory to the dignity of that board, to pass an act, excluding themselves from any knowledge of those services, for which the respective sums were made payable. For these reasons, among others, they opposed the bill; and prayed their dissent might be entered, as a vindication of themselves to his Majesty. The governor, to whom it was sent up, detained it for farther consideration; tho' he passed several other bills on the 19th of the month. This circumstance, my Lord, could not but chagrin his lieutenant, who had the bill much at heart; not only on account of the large sums thereby payable to himself and brother; but because the passing it into a law, would be the fullest evidence of his ascendancy over the governor; and if he could bring him into disgrace with the ministry, by leading him into a breach of instructions, it was plain he would have nothing to rely upon, but his own popularity. This was an important card, and to be skillfully played off. So indeed it was: and when I finish the story, I am persuaded your Lordship will entertain no very mean opinion of American politicians. --- The spring was now advancing; and it became necessary to pass a law for levying forces, not only to join the eastern colonies, on a new expedition against the French fortress at Crown Point, but for the protection of our western frontiers, in conjunction with Pennsylvania and New Jersey, which were become fields of blood, by the daily

1756.

1756. ravages of inhuman barbarians. The bill for this purpose originated with the assembly: and Mr. De Lancey, who was now closeting the members, was its principal constructor. When it came before the council on the 18th of March, that board immediately objected to it, according to his expectations: and the governor declared, that if the council approved, he should himself give it a negative. According to the tenor of this bill, the forces designed for the western expedition were to serve but forty days, when the province of New Jersey had ordained their quota, to be disbandable by Mr. Belcher: and Sir Charles Hardy insisted, that the like confidence ought to be reposed in his judgment. The two houses now engaged themselves in a dispute, at a time when, of all others, every contention should have been avoided. Mr. Oliver De Lancey, appointed by the house to provide the supplies for the regiment designed as our quota towards the Crown Point expedition, now gave orders to stop all farther preparations, an open rupture between the governor and assembly being daily expected. The members began freely to speak against him. The council laboured to procure an alteration of the bill — but all to no purpose. The principal thing aimed at, was the passing of the debt-bill: and a leading member in the house plainly intimated their designs to the governor. Doubtless your Lordship will wonder he did not dissolve them with indignation. Believe me, my Lord, it would have been a step, at this time, extremely unadvisable.

Forty

Forty days intermission between the test and return of ^{1756.} the writ of summons for the election of representatives, being required by law; the public exigencies were too pressing to admit of any delay. Mr. De Lancey knew all his advantages: and that Sir Charles Hardy might be at no loss to conjecture that the house was now acting at his beck, nor himself under the necessity of joining with the council against the bill, absented himself from the consultations of that board. The neighbouring colonies in the mean time were urging the dispatch of our preparations for opening the campaign. Reduced at length by these perplexities, he was obliged to send for his lieutenant, and give him his promise to pass the favourite bill for payment of the public debts. The house then privately took back the quota-bill; and after a few alterations, the council passed it on the 31st of March. To both of them Sir Charles gave his assent the following day: and they were enrolled among our laws. I leave this affair to your Lordship's own reflections; observing only, that from this period, the lieutenant governor's influence became more apparent than before --- and that as it always was, so it will ever continue to be, his ruling passion, and the grand engine of his politics, to crush or controul the King's governors in this province.

THE plan of operations, concerted at New York in December, was a few days after transmitted to Sir Thomas Robinson, to be laid before his Majesty, for the royal approbation.

1756.
Intelligence
from Eng-
land,

probation *. Upon the arrival of the first vessels from Europe in April following, we were surpris'd with these remarkable articles of intelligence: --- That the action at Lake George had been magnified in England into an almost decisive victory --- that Mr. Johnson was advanced to the dignity of a baronet, and 5000 L. sterling voted by the commons, as a farther reward for his great services --- that Eyres, his engineer, was rais'd to a majority --- and Wraxal, his secretary, to the command of a company. To crown, in fine, the utmost wishes of his adversaries --- that Mr. Shirley's conduct having been intirely disapproved, his Majesty had been pleas'd to remove him from the command, and appoint the right hon. the Earl of Loudon general of all his forces in North America.

agreeable to
Mr. Shirley's
adversaries,
and why.

Than these particulars, nothing could have been more pleasing to the New York cabal; as they were shortly to reap the fruits of all those calumnies of which they had been the original authors. A change of the general at once gratified their revenge and ambition, and facilitated the execution of an affair earnestly solicited, and greatly advancive of their interest.

I WILL not assert, that Mr. Shirley had yet received his Majesty's orders with respect to the late plan of operations. I believe he had not --- because on the 7th of May he arriv'd at Albany, and continued his prepara-

* Mr. Pownal importuned Mr. Shirley to be made the bearer of these dispatches. The general very civilly thanked him for the offer of his service; but chose rather to confide in Major Rutherford and Capt. Staats Morris. Mr. Pownal followed soon after them to Eng'land.

tions for carrying that plan into execution, until the 25th 1756. of the month, when a council of war was there held, consisting of the following members :

The general arrives at Albany, and calls a council of war;

His Excellency the GENERAL.

Lieut. Col. Gage, Lieut. Col. Burton, Major Chapman, Major Sparks, Sir John St. Clair, John Montrefer, Esq; chief engineer.

Mr. Shirley laid before them the minutes of the congress in December, and acquainted them with the state of affairs. With respect to the western expedition, the naval force upon the lake consisted, he observed, of two vessels of ten carriage-guns each; two row-gallies, each of ten swivels; and that he had three months before issued orders for building three other vessels, one of eighteen, another of sixteen, and a third of twelve carriage-guns. Besides which, there would be 250 whale-boats upon the lake, each of them capable of containing 16 men. The land forces then at Oswego, and on their march for preserving a free communication between that place and Albany, were his own and Pepperell's regiments, with that raised and supported by the province of New Jersey, and the four independent companies of New York. As there was a magazine of provisions and stores at the Canajohary Falls, about 35 miles from Schenectady; his excellency proposed posting there 100 men out of those forces: as many more at the German Flats, to secure another magazine, guard the portage, and convoy the provisions

and acquaints them with the situation of affairs.

1756. provisions thro' the Wood Creek: and as the fall near Oswego occasioned another small portage, a fort was there also to be erected, for a garrison of fifty men at least. It was, my Lord, of the greatest moment to keep open the communication between Albany and our fort on the lake; his excellency was therefore intent upon raising four companies of sixty privates each, to be employed in scouting along the passage, and harrassing the French settlements between Frontenac and Montreal.

THE general gave them also an account of the strength of Oswego, when he left it the last fall --- adding, that he had sent up Mr. M' Keller, the engineer in second, and Mr. Sewer, a practitioner engineer, with orders to make such additional works, as they should think necessary for the security of that important post. And your Lordship will be pleased to take notice, that these orders were issued very early in March, before the Mohawk river was open; and that the engineers actually arrived at Oswego in April. At these several garrisons were to be deposited six months provisions for 7000; and he observed to the council, that for that purpose, 200 whale-boats and 500 battoes had been dispatched since the first of April from Schenectady. The remaining quantity would have been transported by the middle of July, had his designs been carried into execution.

As to the provincial expedition, he informed them --- that the troops voted by the several colonies amounted to 8800 men, including the officers and garrisons at the
forts

forts Edward and William-Henry. One, or perhaps two hundred Indians might be expected to join them, besides a company which his excellency had raised, to harraſs the enemy upon Lake Champlain, and procure intelligence of their motions in Canada; and three more, for the like ſervice, were intended to be choſen out of the whole force deſtined for Crown Point. 1756.

ABOUT this time one Rogers, of New Hampſhire, capt. of a ranging company, gave repeated demonſtrations of his activity in the neighbourhood of Crown Point. He made many incurſions upon the enemy, fell on their ſcattered parties, and ſcarce ever returned to Fort William-Henry without ſcalps and priſoners. The general took a particular notice of him; and he became ſingularly ſerviceable in procuring intelligence. By a cadet, whom he took on the 20th of May, we were informed, that the whole number of men at Fort St. Frederic, Tinonderoge, and at an advanced poſt, were 1100, compoſed of the regiments of Languedoc, the Queen's regiment, two companies of the colony troops, and the militia. Beſides theſe, there were Indians; but their numbers uncertain: that at Tinonderoge the French had twelve pieces of ordnance mounted, and carriages preparing for an additional number; but that the retrenchment at the advanced poſt was without any cannon. Theſe troops wintered at Montreal and Chambly; and arrived at the ſouth end of the lake about the middle of April, being plentifully ſupplied with proviſions and military ſtores. --- Theſe intel-
Q ligences

1756. gences the general laid before his council; and then observed, that the 50th and 51st regiments, the four independent companies, and the regiment of New Jersey, were scarce a third part of the number of troops designed by the general plan for the operations upon Lake Ontario: that the provincials were also not only deficient of the complement thought necessary at the congress, but even of the number voted by the provinces concerned in the enterprize against Crown Point; and that it was impracticable, even with the junction of the 44th and 48th regiments, then at Albany, to carry on both the northern and western expeditions at the same time: that he had no dependance upon the Indians of the Six Nations; Sir William Johnson being unable to procure scouting parties; and that upon this account he proposed raising four companies for that service.

Your Lordship may hence observe, what reason the congress in December had for their opinion, that more troops were necessary for his Majesty's service in America. No reinforcements being yet arrived from England, for carrying the general plan into execution, the council were of unanimous opinion — that 1300 ought to be posted at Oswego, 50 at the Falls, 200 at the Oneida Carrying-Place, 150 at the German Flatts, and as many more at the Conejohary Falls. They advised therefore, — That the 50th and 51st, and the New Jersey regiments, the independents, and the North Carolina provincials (all which amounted to about 2000 men) should be employed

Their opinion and advice.

in that service. The 44th and 48th regiments, with the colony troops, were thought sufficient to reduce Crown Point. Accordingly, they recommended their junction: advising, however, that the regulars should continue for a time in their encampment at Albany. — The ranging companies, proposed by the general, were highly approved; and the raising of others strongly recommended. They also concurred with him in sentiment — that a road ought to be made from the German Flatts to Oswego: and declared, it appeared to them very necessary to strengthen Fort Edward, and erect another at the South Bay. The former was a deposit for stores, and at the concurrence of all the routes from Crown Point to Albany. The latter would command the route taken by baron Dieskau for his designed attack upon Fort Edward — a route thro' which incursions were frequently made upon our northern frontier. A fort at the South Bay was conceived requisite, to cover our convoys of provisions for the northern expedition from the insults of the enemy, who in flying parties infested the passage from Albany to * William-Henry. The propriety of this advice, my Lord, must be evident to every man of a tolerable acquaintance with the country; and these were the very sentiments which the general repeatedly communicated to Sir William Johnson, in his

1756.

* For the building of a fort at South Bay preparations were making when Mr. Shirley resigned the command of the army: but the work has since been neglected; and the passage from Fort Edward to our camp at William-Henry, infested all this summer, and many of our people cut off, as was foreseen by this council.

*This is not true for
we never lost sight of
between the two cities
during the whole of*

1756. letters, after the action at Lake George; which were then slighted by the cabal, who studiously opposed him in all his measures.

THUS I have shewn your Lordship the reasons why the general plan continued to be unexecuted, till the sitting of this last council of war. Mr. Shirley, however, in hopes of the arrival of the expected reinforcements, and loth to be diverted from his favourite designs upon Lake Ontario, continued to throw large quantities of provisions and stores into Schenectady, and all the magazines between that place and Oswego. This, it was supposed, was done to induce his successor, from these ample supplies, to act upon this quarter; it being universally imagined, that Crown Point was now become the main object of the ministry. Till the arrival of General Webb on the 7th of June, this was only conjecture, and general report. The effects of the misrepresentations of American affairs in England, then became evident to all; for the stores laid in at Schenectady were now reconveyed to Albany for the northern expedition; and fresh clamours excited against Mr. Shirley, for his supplies towards the western operations. On the 15th of June, Major General Abercrombie landed at New York; and ten days after at Albany; where he immediately took upon himself the command of the army. Shirley continued there no longer than to deliver over to the new general the proper returns, and communicate such information as appeared necessary, with respect to the present situation of affairs.

THE

Major General Abercrombie
 landed at Albany three
 weeks ago, & arrived
 at Schenectady for the 14th
 of the Battalion men
 far from their being
 back to Albany that
 in that Regt. was
 and to march for
 Oswego which was the regt.
 of, there was not
 of the end at Albany
 they were obliged
 borrow prov. from
 new contractors
 to wait till they
 had improv. waggons
 carry them to Schenectady
 took up 14
 at time, General Aber-
 crombie makes the
 the Battalion men
 that Regt. command of
 the army.
 to Oswego
 that place
 attacked

THE whole force, of which General Abercrombie now ^{1756.} took the command, consisted of the 44th, 48th, 50th, and 51st regiments, four independent companies, the New Jersey regiment, four companies raised by the province of North Carolina, Otway's, and the Highland regiments *, and the provincial forces destined against Crown Point.

INSTRUCTIONS had been given to Sir William Johnson, ^{Sir William Johnson holds a conference at Onondaga.} to procure a large body of the Six Nations, to join in any attempt that might be made upon the Lake Ontario; and to engage 100 more, for the assistance of the provincial army. To effect which, he was then holding a conference with the deputies of the Six Cantons at Onondaga; from whence he was to proceed immediately to Oswego. Mr. Shirley had, besides, raised a company of Indians from Stockbridge, to be employed in ranging the woods between Fort William-Henry and Montreal: and that his Majesty's service upon Lake Ontario might be free from the obstructions, by which it had been the year before greatly embarrassed, he had enlisted 40 companies of ^{Forty companies of battoemen, each of 50 men, a captain and an assistant, raised, and their great usefulness.} battoemen, for transporting stores and provisions to Oswego. These were put under the direction of Capt. Bradstreet, an active vigilant officer, inured to the hardships to which that service inevitably exposed him. This, tho' one of the most judicious measures that could have been taken, was made the subject of low invective. The faction at New York laboured to represent it as a project to involve the

* These two regiments arrived with him, and consisted of about 900 men.

1756. Crown in a needless expence: but time has given the fullest evidence of the propriety of this step; and *proper* it will appear to your Lordship, before the conclusion of this letter. General Shirley wisely foresaw, that the Indians of the Six Nations, whatever influence over them Sir William Johnson might pretend, could not be engaged even to protect the King's troops in the passage thro' their own country; and that unless the communication was kept open to Oswego, nothing could be effected upon the Lake, nor the garrison itself preserved from falling into the hands of the enemy. Accordingly, no sooner did the spring open, than a little blockaded post, with 25 men, at the Carrying-Place, in the very center of the Oneida country, was cut off; the Oneidas themselves being unquestionably concerned in the massacre. Nothing could secure us against the repetition of these insults, but passing through the country with large squadrons of battoes: and to facilitate the transportation, Mr. Shirley, who canvassed every expedient for the preservation of Oswego, employed a working party of 80 men, under a director, to remove the obstructions in the Wood Creek; by this means, the portage from the Mohawks River, across the great Carrying-Place, was reduced from eight miles to one. Nor did he omit observing to his successor, that an attempt upon Niagara was of the last importance; the loss or preservation of our Indians depending upon the success of the operations on Lake Ontario.

A small post
cut off in the
Indian coun-
try.

RELATIVE

RELATIVE to the Crown Point expedition, he recommended the march of part of the army, in a new discovered route, on the west side of Lake George, to the enemy's advanced works, five miles short of Tinonderoge. Which being carried, the heavy artillery and stores might be there landed; and transported thro' a road to Tinonderoge and Fort Frederic: and after the reduction of those fortresses, he advised Général Abercrombie immediately to construct armed vessels, to secure the command of Lake Champlain.

1756.

YOUR LORDSHIP may remember, that an attempt was proposed, at the congress in December, against Fort Du Quesne, with an army of 3000 provincials. Gov. Sharpe was to have commanded in that enterprize; but there remained now no hopes of its prosecution. Virginia chose to be intirely upon the defensive: — Maryland was wholly inactive; her frontier being covered by the adjoining provinces — and as to Pennsylvania, she raised indeed 1500 men, but only with a view to protect her out-farms; nor probably would thus far have consulted her own safety, but for the daily murders and horrid cruelties perpetrated upon her borders.

Governor
Sharpe's de-
signed at-
tempt on
Fort Du
Quesne fails.

WITH respect to the circumstances of Indian affairs to the northward — While Mr. Shirley was at Oswego, and upon his return, as I before observed to your Lordship, he proposed to the Senecas, Cayugas, Onondagas, and Oneidas, the erection of small forts for the protection of their respective castles. The two last tribes consented, desiring

Circum-
stances of In-
dian affairs
to the north-
ward.

1756. desiring also, that the forts might be mounted with cannon: and the Tuscoraras afterwards sent deputies to him, with the like request: — the Senecas and Cayugas had also lately signified their acquiescence to Sir William Johnson; and the general transmitted him the plan of a fort, directing the prosecution of the work with all possible dispatch, as a most effectual means to secure the Indian country to his Majesty.

BEFORE Mr. Shirley left Oswego the last year, he proposed to the Six Nations, their convening this summer, in a grand council there, the Indians on the north side of Lake Ontario, and round Lake Erie, to consult their common interest, and maintain a correspondence by annual councils at Oswego. And to draw off the latter from their attachment to the French, recommended to the Six Nations their concurrence, in opening a free trade with the foreign Indians, at the entrance of the Onondaga river, upon terms more advantageous to all the Indians, than any hitherto pursued. This spring Sir William Johnson informed his excellency, that the Six Nations were extremely well pleased with the projects relating both to the trade at Oswego, and the construction of forts in their cantons. To accelerate the latter, the general supplied him with 5000 l. sterling, in addition to 5000 l. advanced to him by General Braddock: and yet, my Lord, he was constrained to confess, in a subsequent * letter, that unless his excellency could engage

* 10 May, 1756.

several companies of rangers, he despaired of the preservation even of a free passage thro' their country: and whether he has to this day built a single fort, as the general proposed, I have not been able, after much inquiry, to discover. 1756.

EQUALLY unpromising was the situation of our affairs with the southern Indians. Some hopes indeed were entertained of the fidelity of the Cherokees --- a people warlike and powerful; in whose territories the Virginians were erecting a fortress. The Shawanese nevertheless continued their irruptions into that province: and Governor Dinwiddie was obliged to draft the militia, to oppose their progress, and preserve the town of Winchester. These Indians also, with the Susquehanas and Delawares, committed frequent hostilities upon the Pensylvanians. Governor Morris, for the protection of the country, carried a line of forts on the west side of the Kittatiny mountains, all along the extended frontier of that colony, from Delaware to the river Potowmac. The government of New Jersey proceeded even to declare war against the Delaware Indians; and would have penetrated into their settlements, had not assurances been sent by Sir William Johnson from the council at Onondaga, that the Delawares and Shawanese, in obedience to the Six Nations, were under renewed and positive engagements, to refrain from any farther outrages upon the southern frontiers. If any such promises were really made, 'tis certain they were immediately broken, many of our inha-

Situation of
our affairs
with the
southern In-
dians.

1756. bitants having since been murdered and captivated by the savages of those very tribes. Whence we may fairly conclude, that either the Six Nations connived at these infractions of their commands; or that their antient sovereignty is become the contempt of their tributaries. In fact, my Lord, the matter is still worse. Too much reason is there to believe the truth of both these alternatives.

Sir William
Johnson's
conduct con-
sidered.

I INFORMED your Lordship, that Sir William Johnson was ordered to proceed from Onondaga to Oswego, with as many Indians as could be persuaded to march with him; not only for the more effectual preservation of that post, but to execute the plan which Gen. Shirley had concerted, for the establishment of an annual council there, with those Indians who had been long in the French interest, and seemed ready to listen to proposals for an alliance with us. It was expedient, my Lord, that he should have complied with these instructions, nay it was his duty; but no sooner was he acquainted with Mr. Shirley's resignation of the command of the army, than he returned from Onondaga to Albany, at the head of about 60 Indians; leaving Capt. Patten with his company of grenadiers, to wander thro' a forlorn wilderness, in search of Oswego. Whether this instance of his conduct was not intended to raise his reputation with the new general, as a leading man among the Indians, I leave to your Lordship's conjecture. By arts like these, he acquired his Indian fame: and the influence of the faction at New York so powerfully sustained it, that few persons doubted
his

his ability to procure several hundred warriors for our assistance, tho' every day exhibited fresh proofs of their melancholy defection. Besides the destruction of our post in the very country of the Oneidas mentioned before, the enemy infested the parts about Oswego, and the whole passage thither, without the least opposition from the Six Nations. Alarms indeed were frequently given of the approach of their flying parties; and it was observable, that Sir William Johnson, on those occasions, as Colonel of the county, raised the militia of Albany, and proceeded to the spot; tho' every man acquainted with Indians well knows, that of all places, these are the most unlikely for finding the enemy. By such sham expeditions have our northern inhabitants been impoverished and distressed: nor could they answer any other end, than to raise a bruit thro' the colonies; and with parade and ostentation set the gazetteers upon sounding his applause. --- Even in these wild romantic excursions, but few Indians attended him: and yet if we credit our news writers, hundreds were in his train.

MR. SHIRLEY had scarce resigned the command to Major General Abercrombie, when the good effect of the battoe service became so irresistibly evident, that his very enemies recollected their ungrounded calumnies with shame and confusion. --- I allude, my Lord, to the action Account of a gallant action of our battoe men under Capt. Bradstreet. between the French and our battoe men, on the 3d of July. Sensible of the importance of Oswego, the enemy collected themselves about the latter end of May in a

1756. large body, not many miles to the eastward of that gar-
 rison; from whence detachments were perpetually sent
 out to fall upon our workmen, and infest the passage
 thro' the Onondaga River. Capt. Bradstreet, who had the
 direction of the battoes, was apprized that small parties lay
 in ambush, waiting a favourable opportunity to attack him.
 Accordingly, when he left Oswego, he ordered the several
 divisions to proceed as near each other as possible: but so
 numerous and irregular a body could not without difficulty
 be kept to any tolerable order. He was at the head of about
 300 battoe-men, in the first division, upon his return to
 Schenectady; and about nine miles from Oswego, when the
 enemy, who were 700 strong, rose from their ambuscade,
 and fired upon his front. Near the place of attack, was
 a small island, by which the enemy might easily have forded
 the river. Bradstreet in an instant landed upon the island,
 to prevent being inclosed between two fires; and with six
 men maintained his possession, bravely repelling twenty of
 the enemy, who attempted to seize that advantageous post.
 He was then reinforced with six others; and even compelled
 a second party of 40 French to give way. Enraged at this
 shameful disappointment, the enemy, to the number of 70
 men, thought proper to make a third attempt; but the
 battoe-men, who did not exceed 20, with redoubled
 bravery still kept their ground, and again forced their
 adversaries to retire. During these skirmishes, which
 lasted near an hour, the battoe-men in the rear
 landed, without loss or confusion,

confusion, upon the south side of the river. Four hundred of the enemy now advanced up the north side of the stream, intending to ford it about a mile higher, and surround us. Bradstreet, aware of the design, left the island, and with 200 men marched on the other side to oppose them. But they had actually forded over, before he came up, and posted themselves in a swamp. Dr. Kirkland, with the second division of battoes, was now advancing to his assistance; but Bradstreet ordered him, and Capt. Butler, who commanded the third division, to keep their posts, and cover the battoes in the rear. Being arrived at the swamp, an engagement ensued in the Indian manner of fighting, and continued above an hour with dubious success. Bradstreet, at length animating his men, rushed into the thicket thro' twice his number, and gallantly pushed them into the river, where many of them perished. Another attempt was made, in the meantime, to ford the river a little higher; but those being also repulsed, the whole party was intirely routed and dispersed.

Just after the defeat, Capt. Patten, with his grenadiers from Onondaga, fell in with our battoes; and the next morning a reinforcement of 200 men came up from the garrison: and but for the excessive rains, which began soon after the action, and continued all the next day, these brave battoe-men would probably have cut off the whole party. Had Sir William Johnson, as was expected, accompanied Capt. Patten to Oswego, with the Indians from

1756. from Onondaga, Bradstreet might have made immediate pursuit, and many of the enemy must have been overtaken: but this pacific plenipotentiary was then hastening to Albany (a safer situation) with the important minutes of his late conference. A conference full of affectionate Indian speeches, and large promises of their assistance; when scarce a man of them could be prevailed upon to turn out of his hut for the defence of the common cause. Bradstreet had but three Indians of the Six Nations with him at this attack. Of these, one took to his heels; a second fought bravely; but the third went over to the enemy, and assisted in pointing out our officers. In these several actions we had about 30 men killed and wounded. How many of the French were slain, is not certainly known; tho' it is generally said, they lost about 120. Eighty arms were brought to Schenectady; and about 70 men found in the woods, and carried to Oswego. The French fled in the utmost disorder: and some of their regular soldiers, being strangers to the country, got bewildered in the desert, and perished for want of sustenance.

Bradstreet gives intelligence of the enemy's design to attack Oswego.

BRADSTREET arrived at Schenectady on the 11th of July; and the next day acquainted General Abercrombie at Albany of the state of Oswego. --- That he learnt from his prisoners, the French were preparing to attack it, having 1200 men for that purpose encamped not far from the easternmost fort. Upon the receipt of this intelligence, orders were issued to Major General Webb, to

hold

hold himself in readiness to march for its defence with the 44th regiment. My Lord, Mr. Shirley had, several days before *, advised General Abercrombie to reinforce that garrison with † two battalions at least: and they might have marched immediately, as Bradstreet was ready to convoy the troops, and every magazine, along the passage, plentifully supplied with provisions. But not to anticipate my story;

Mr. SHIRLEY arrived at New York on the 4th of July, and waited the arrival of my Lord Loudon, who landed there on the 23d of that month, with Mr. Pownall in his train: but in what character the latter returned a second time from England, was a subject of doubtful conjecture. — His Lordship, regardless of his ease, and the fatigues of a tedious voyage, tarried there but three days; and on the 29th of July reached his head quarters at Albany, when he took upon himself the command of the army.

THE garrison of Oswego consisted now of 1400 men, and about 300 workmen and sailors. Four hundred and eighty-five were posted, in small parties, between that place and Burnet's Field, to maintain an open passage thro' the country of the Six Nations. The 44th and 48th regiments at Albany and Schenectady, with the British troops just arrived, consisted now of 2600 men; and the pro-

* On the 20th of June, the day after he was superseded.

† Such a reinforcement could easily have been spared for that purpose, Orway's and the Highland regiment being now landed at Albany. And that this necessary step might not be obstructed, General Shirley had, before their arrival, dispatched an express to Oswego, ordering Bradstreet to quicken his return to Schenectady.

vincials,

1756.

that might have been the case in but to my knowledge it was not so in Aug

Lord Loudon arrives.

Our present force, and that of the French.

The 48th Regiment was at Schenectady 40 miles from Albany

Oswego & High Landers consisted but of 300 men they without tents or any kind of Equipage it being left behind in the

1756. vincials, under the command of General Winslow, were about 7000, and ready to march from Fort William-Henry. --- Of the naval force of Oswego, I have already given your Lordship an account; and as to the strength of the enemy at Tinonderoge and Crown Point, according to the latest intelligence obtained by Capt. Rogers, they did not then exceed 3000 men.

*5000 Effective
in, I did not
at fort W^m Henry
on 16th of Aug^t.*

FROM his Lordship's known abilities for war, the colonies were in great hopes, that notwithstanding the delay of the British reinforcements, some coup d' eclat would very speedily be struck at Crown Point. But alas! while we were intent upon this favourite design, the enemy were bending their main force, not to oppose us at Tinonderoge, but to secure what was to them a matter of much more importance, I mean the exclusive dominion of the great Lakes --- Accordingly, they laid siege to Oswego; and after two or three days contest, obliged the garrison, on the 14th of August, to surrender themselves prisoners of war. This melancholy account was first brought to Albany by several soldiers, some of whom had formerly deserted the French service; and remained many days unconfirmed, till the arrival of two sailors, who made their escape after the reduction of the forts. An universal shock was now given to the whole continent: and to increase our distress, the Indians reported, that the whole garrison was put to the sword, and the dead bodies of our countrymen denied even the sacred rite of sepulture. But this, by subsequent advices, was contradicted: and the

Oswego
taken by the
French, and
the garrison
made prison-
ers of war.

the spies, dispatched for observation, inform us, that the works are intirely demolished, and the enemy departed. In what manner, and by what numbers, it was taken, or upon what terms surrendered, I cannot give your Lordship any satisfactory account. How many were killed on either side is also unknown; tho' certain it is that Lieut. Col. Mercer, the commanding officer, is among the slain.

1756.

Circumstances of the siege unknown.

It is much to be wished, my Lord, that Mr. Shirley's advice to General Abercrombie had been followed: and equally to be regretted, that Sir William Johnson returned with such precipitation from Onondaga to Albany. Nor ought the discharge of 400 battoe-men, after Bradstreet's return, to pass without some remark. They arrived at Schenectady, as I observed before, on the 11th of July; and methinks the recent proofs of their courage, and the account they gave of the strength and designs of the enemy, might have been a sufficient antidote against the poison of that council for their discharge; which was unquestionably designed by Mr. Shirley's enemies for throwing an odium on his measures. To the same influence, my Lord, it was undoubtedly owing, that General Webb's march, with the 44th regiment from Schenectady, was delayed till the 12th of August, but two days before the garrison was actually surrendered. He had proceeded no farther than Burnet's Field, with his regiment of 900 men, and the remaining 800 battoe-men, when the deserters brought him the news of the siege. Upon the receipt of

Battoe-men imprudently discharged.

There was no Battoe men discharged till after the loss of Oswego when there was a further service of them —

General Webb's march delayed.

1756. which, he made a forced march to the Oneida Carrying-Place ; where he immediately felled trees into the Wood Creek, to prevent the approach of the * enemy.

THESE, my Lord, were great oversights : but the loss of Oswego must principally be ascribed to a more distant cause --- to a junctō, who have all along embarrassed every part of his Majesty's service on the Lake Ontario. By their misrepresentations, the public has been drawn into a dependence upon the Six Nations, merely to exalt Sir William Johnson : and that nothing might be wanting to procure a change in the command of the army, and destroy all confidence in Shirley's judgment, Oswego, the great object of his attention, has been slighted as an unessential post ; and the reduction of St. Frederic represented as a point of far superior moment.

Unhappy consequences of the loss of this important post.

MY LORD, by these intrigues our country bleeds --- Oswego is lost --- lost perhaps for ever, --- with the naval armament --- above 60 pieces of ordnance, and a rich supply of stores and provisions, laid in at a vast expence, for several thousand men, during the whole campaign. --- Would to God this was all, and we had nothing worse to apprehend ! --- Our furr trade, which has long been the principal object of the national attention, and the support of our frontier city of Albany, is at an end. The French

* The French were equally apprehensive of his advancing towards them, or of our attempting to rebuild Oswego : and very prudently improving the present advantage, began where General Webb left off, and continued the obstruction quite down to the entrance into the Oneida Lake ; which renders it impossible to pass thro' the Wood Creek, 40 miles in length. General Webb not long after abandoned the Carrying-Place, after burning down the forts, much to the dissatisfaction of the Indians.

can

can now with the utmost facility secure the inland coun- ^{1756.} try, and confine us to the very brinks of the ocean --- a free communication is opened between Canada and Louifi- ana; and all our intercourse with the Indians totally rescinded. The enemy, on the other hand, may, with- out opposition or restraint, render these innumerable tribes of savages their allies and dependants. The Six Nations are more wavering than ever: and should they no longer think it expedient to preserve their neutrality, the whole continent must inevitably become a field of blood. Whatever may be thought of these colonies, which of late have been magnified for their numbers and opu- lence, I do assure your Lordship, that a short war will effectually exhaust them. Their settlements are scat- tered; their frontiers extensive; the inhabitants but few, generally in very moderate circumstances, and still luxu- rious, and without resources. The irruption of a few Indians into Pennsylvania, had already occasioned the loss of several hundred souls, and the desolation of near two thousand farms. The frontiers of the neighbour- ing colonies are equally defenceless: and the power of the native savages, at present in the French interest, is of itself sufficient, by slow but inevitable means, to re- duce us to extreme beggary and distress.

Thus, my Lord, I have finished the relation of what has hitherto been transacted in America. I have not only presented you with a series of the most interesting events, but brought your Lordship acquainted with the

The colonies
not so pow-
erful as ima-
gined.

General Re-
flections
upon the
whole.

1756. characters and designs of the principal agents in our political affairs. If I have erred, I am persuaded it is not in any article of importance, nor purposely in the minutest. --- Every line of this letter hath been penned with the most sacred veneration for truth, and a mind equally unbiassed by resentment or affection. --- For obtaining an intimate acquaintance with the matters rehearsed, few in the colonies have had superior advantages: nor in collecting proper materials, has any one been more assiduous. Add to this, that I had no other interest in the public measures, than the interest of every man on the continent. I am unconnected with all parties; neither enjoying any post myself, nor standing in the least relation to a single officer in the army. The love of my country was the sole spring of my curiosity; and so far, indeed, I was not an unconcerned spectator of the public transactions. If I have made honourable mention of General Shirley, it was owing to my approbation of his schemes, as conducive to the commonweal of the British plantations: and if my judgment was in this regard erroneous, I have the pleasure to find myself in very respectable company. Except New York, or rather a prevailing faction there, all the colonies hold him in very high esteem. Some have made public declarations of their sense of his great merit; and that too, at a time when he appeared descending from his meridian of glory. But he needed no other than the testimonials of his own province; for he, my Lord, whose
 whose

whose conduct is approved by the people of the Massa-
 chufets Bay, must be distinguished both for his abilities 1756.
 and his virtue. They are too numerous and wise to be
 deceived, too free and independent to be driven. An
 undue influence can never be obtained by the governor
 of a colony, who has neither power nor places to be-
 stow. --- Their assemblies are annual --- the members
 elected by ballot, in number near 200. --- The council,
 or middle estate, chosen yearly by the assembly: --- and
 as all the offices are elective, not a man in the province is
 dependent on the smiles or the frowns of the King's re-
 presentative: --- and yet so wise, free, and loyal a people
 have approved his judgment; confided in his integrity;
 testified in his favour; and publickly lamented his de-
 parture from the continent. I would by no means, my
 Lord, be understood, by these favourable sentiments of
 Shirley, to disparage his noble Successor in the command.
 He yet has not, at least he deserves not to have, a single
 enemy amongst us: and I hope it will serve the purposes
 of no man to be his enemy. I could only have wished,
 that at this critical juncture, a gentleman so thoroughly
 versed in American affairs, had been continued in Ame-
 rica for his Lordship's assistance. We have to contend
 with a subtle enterprising foe --- a foe, rapacious, martial,
 and bloody, committing murders, rather than waging
 war. Tho' the French colony contains perhaps not 30,000
 men capable to bear arms; yet these are all under the
 despotic command and sole direction of their governor-
 general;

1756. general; and experience teaches us, that in spite of our navy, they may be annually reinforced. The strength of our colonies, on the other hand, is divided; and the concurrence of all necessaries both for supplies of men and money. Jealous are they of each other --- some ill-constituted --- others shaken with intestine divisions --- and, if I may be allowed the expression, parsimonious even to prodigality. Our assemblies are diffident of their governors --- governors despise their assemblies, and both mutually misrepresent each other to the Court of Great Britain. Military measures demand secrecy and dispatch: but while the colonies remain undivided, and nothing can be transacted but with their universal assent, 'tis impossible to maintain the one, or proceed with the other. Without a general constitution for warlike operations, we can neither plan nor execute. We have a common interest, and must have a common council, *one head*, and *one purse*. --- The French service is unexposed to these embarrassments; and hence they project without discovery, and we scarce collect their designs, till we are attacked and defeated. Hitherto they have prosecuted the war with superior advantage; and yet the militia of the province of the Massachusetts Bay alone, undoubtedly exceeds, by some thousands, all the troops of Canada. Since the commencement of the present hostilities, his Majesty has lost above 3000 loyal subjects: and as all the Indians are at the devotion of the French, and Oswego is now lost, many thousand farms before the opening of the
 next

next spring, will probably be abandoned; and the interior settlements deluged with the innocent blood of all 1756.
ages and sexes. Indeed, my Lord, 'tis not beneath the most elevated station, to indulge the benevolent feelings of humanity; nor, retiring awhile from the pomp and gaiety that surrounds you, to shed a pitying tear over families inhumanly bereft of their substance, or more inhumanly slaughtered in their beds. --- It is a celebrated saying, and does honour to human nature, "Homo sum, et nihil humanum a me alienum puto."

WHAT the present or the next campaign will bring forth, is known only to the Omniscient Governor of the universe. The colonies are nearly exhausted, and their funds already anticipated by expensive unexecuted projects: and whether they will still continue their efforts, or resign to a listless despair, is uncertain. I fear the worst — and yet you know, my Lord, I am not of a melancholy cast. There is too much reason for general concern: and I venture to predict, what every judicious person foresees, that unless some successful blow is struck — and speedily struck, at the power of France, Britain must inevitably lose her possessions in America. An event, my Lord, of the most tremendous consequence to us --- to you --- to the Protestant religion --- to the peace of Europe --- yes --- and to the peace and happiness of all mankind.

HITHERTO we have wasted our strength in lopping off branches, when the axe should have been laid to the root of the tree. Canada, my Lord, Canada must be demolished ---

1756. lished --- Delenda est Carthago --- or we are undone. Strength sufficient have we left, with proper assistance, for a decisive struggle: but a lingering consumption will infallibly enervate and destroy. France has been, ever can, and will be annually, throwing over fresh troops into her colony, in defiance of our great maritime force: and should peace ensue, even before our ruin is compleated, what will be the state of these provinces upon the next rupture between the two crowns, when the inland country is filled with our enemies? --- As you therefore value, my noble Lord, the cause of liberty; the glory of the British name; the honour and dignity of the best of Kings; and the preservation of these colonies from bloody carnage and total ruin; exert, I beseech you, exert your influence, to extirpate this brood of French savages from the face of the continent. In a scheme so decisive, and in no other, will the provinces heartily unite; and if well concerted, and our unfortified sea-coasts at the same time sufficiently protected; it will doubtless succeed --- humble the pride of France --- and close the present war with a lasting and honourable peace. I am,

My LORD,
 New York, Sept. 20, 1756. With the profoundest respect,
 Your Lordship's most obliged
 and obedient servant.

